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ABSTRACT

The first paper presented in this publication is "The Relevance of Present Educational Systems" by Warren Bryan Martin. The paper argues that present educational systems are not relevant for the future because they are oriented to the past. It examines: youth perspective on relevance; alternative perspectives of institutional and individual relevance of educational systems; the process of institutional change; the movement from reform to transformation; alternative models for the university of the future; and consequences of both existing and alternative models. The second paper, "Student Participation in Governance," by Harold L. Hodgkinson discusses: the pros and cons of student participation in high school and university governance; the changes that have taken place over the past 10 years, some of the consequences of increased student participation; and different models of student participation. The last paper, "Access and Accommodation in Higher Education," by K. Patricia Cross deals with: the changing philosophies of access; the shift in emphasis from access in the 1960's to accommodation in the 1970's; the limitations of existing educational models; new models of education; and recommendations for policies and programs to institute new educational models, including projections of the effects upon youth and society if the new models are not developed. (AF)

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White House Conference on Youth

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The Relevance of Present Educational Systems

The Relevance of Present Educational Systems

> . . . Americans recognize that the two broad areas of needed and–it is to be hoped–developing change involve the institutional and cultural aspects of American society. The former largely, though not exclusively, pertains to the political sphere, the latter to the educational domain, particularly as it concerns the content and the shaping of national values.
>
> Zbigniew Brzezinski
> *Between Two Ages*

INTRODUCTION

Present educational systems are not relevant for the future because they are oriented to the past. And the future will be different from the past. Systems, however, can be changed, as in the past they have been changed. In the 19th century, when the values of industrialization replaced agrarian values as organizing principles for American life, schools and colleges changed their structures and functions to provide social attitudes as well as vocational and professional skills relevant for industrialism. Now, as the nation moves into the "Technetronic Age," an epoch characterized by computers and other electronic devices providing fast, adaptive, self-regulating production and service systems, schools and colleges must change again.

Some people need to be trained to program those machines that will do the work men once did. Most people need to learn how best to develop individual interests and aptitudes. Because of technology, they will be free to do more of what they want to do and less of what, in an earlier time, they would have had to do. All people must be taught to cope with an unprecedented rate of change, to live with contingency and provisional certitudes, to accept substantive diversity or pluralistic forms of social organization.

Educational systems relevant for the future will, thus, have several functions–training for technical competencies, educating for personal self-realization, developing tolerance for future-oriented change and alternative personal and social life styles. These functions are not being achieved now in education because ". . . our schools face backward toward a dying system, rather than forward to the emerging new society. Their vast energies are applied to cranking out Industrial Men–people tooled for survival in a system that will be dead before they are (Toffler, 1970)." But there is evidence that education will, once again, change in response to societal challenges. The sign of it is not so much in organizational and procedural innovations, which are still largely backward looking, albeit attempts to bring what is sensed about the future to terms with what is known about the past. Other developments, however, are more hopeful. There is now emerging a body of opinion that could alter the emphasis in education from the past to the future. It is being shaped by people of all ages, but, more than any other group, the youth have insisted upon the key components.

THE YOUTH PERSPECTIVE ON RELEVANCE

The youth perspective is characterized by a coalescing of attention around certain concerns and responses to these. Relevance, as applied to present educational systems, is one such concern. Although some educators scorn this word as being incapable of definition or incapacitated by overuse, relevance is the word that has united youth everywhere, and there is growing agreement among them as to its meaning and uses.

Generally, relevance represents a change of emphasis of sufficient magnitude that it amounts to a new sensibility; a consciousness that educational systems should be evaluated less by quantitative measures and more qualitatively, less according to inputs (SAT scores, the college preparatory curriculum in high school, offices held and awards won) and more in terms of human outcomes; not the "products outputs" currently emphasized by certain educational technicians, but outcomes defined as the effects of the educational experience on personal values, interpersonal relationships, and institutional character.

Specifically, relevance is defined from the youth perspective in several ways. At the personal level, youth may ask what is the relevance of present educational systems in terms of self-realization, personal fulfillment, and development of a capacity for good judgment. Applied to interpersonal relationships, they may ask if the educational experience, or system, is relevant in helping them find interpersonal and community satisfactions and achieve self-transcendence in community as well as self-authentication within the context of such a group. Understood in vocational, technical, or professional terms, youth understand the dignity, authority, and material rewards that work skills can bring to one's life. While the scarcity mentality has been set aside by these youth, it has not been replaced with the conspicuous consumption or planned obsolescence syndrome associated with the mentality of affluence. Rather, this emerging body of opinion emphasizes the necessity of competencies, not only for personal satisfaction but for society's judicious utilization of limited natural resources. Regarding vocational-professional preparation, the youth perspective couples human sensitivity with technical competency. Relevance for the person as a professional has moral and ethical components, particularly where attitudes towards the nation's resources are concerned: Will the profession be exploiting or protecting these resources (Towards Excellence, *Universities Quarterly*, 1969). Applied to institutional structures and functions, the youth believe that institutions as well as individuals should have character. Character in this context means an institution willing to make value judgments, exercise its commitments, and accept the consequences. Institutional values do and should exist, but they must not be imposed arbitrarily from outside or arise willy-nilly from within.

Institutions need to be deliberate, honest, and transparent about what they stand for.

These definitions of relevance, as joined together in the youth perspective, suggest the extent to which present educational systems must change. Education oriented to the future will require more adaptive, flexible educational models calculated to encourage students to accept cultural diversity and societal pluralism as well as personal growth and change.

One way to assure a misunderstanding of what is happening among middle-class white youth is to view their actions in terms of established culture and traditional norms. These youth are leaders in shaping future-oriented values and they express the youth perspective better than any other group. The threat to the established American way of life, therefore, is not from militant blacks but from white youths disaffiliated from the middle class. The blacks are demanding their fair share of established rewards and sanctions, for the privileges and responsibilities guaranteed by a revolution that is 200 years old. And it is scandalous that they must fight to get dignities and opportunities whites take for granted (Keniston, 1969).

And the threat is not just from that miniscule minority of student radicals whose sociopolitical activities–a pastiche of 19th century Marxism and early 20th century Freudianism–have shown them to be as backward looking as older adults (Toffler, 1970). It is from the significantly larger minority of high school and college students who view the present educational systems as an institutional form sufficiently anachronistic to require, as the only adequate change, a reform culminating in transformation.

The "revolution" to achieve relevance, then, will be led not by the minorities (unless their aspirations are crushed), nor by white working classes (there is now no populist movement), but by middle-class youth of the persuasion just stated. They are the alienated people of the technological society. As they see it, the new world is not the old world of work, nor is it the working man's;

he still clings to the concept of identity through industrial or corporation roles. Meanwhile, the nation moves into cybernetics and a social context in which work as conventionally defined will not provide the basis for human fulfillment. These youth sense that the character of human satisfactions is changing, that old ones are no longer persuasive, albeit new ones are not yet fully perceived.

ALTERNATIVE PERSPECTIVES OF RELEVANCE

Our contention is that an emerging youth perspective on education has substance and that it will prevail because it shows promise of meeting essential needs, e.g., the necessity to save the natural environment and human sensibilities. However, in the interest of knowing what must be dealt with to effect needed changes, attention will be given to alternative perspectives on the relevance of educational systems.

Most faculty and administrators, at least in postsecondary education, measure the relevance of present educational systems by their ability to satisfy three criteria in the institutional realm and two dealing with the individual, particularly the student. *Institutional* relevance is measured in terms of teaching, research, and service. Although less than ten percent of American faculties get involved in research and publication as professionals, while even fewer engage in more than routine community services–voting, civic club membership–nevertheless, the standard by which most faculty and administrators measure institutional relevance is this triad of functions.

The *individual* relevance of educational systems is understood by most faculty, administrators, and students to involve two achievements–certification and socialization. Certification is the culmination of a training process through which the student passes, in the posture of an apprentice attending a professional, or as subordinate in a tutelary relationship noticeably asymmetrical (but, a relationship thought to be benign and not malignant). Socialization is the culmination of a more informal, less obvious, but, nevertheless, real training process in social and intellectual skills and attitudes thought to be marks of an educated man. Again, though often unwittingly, faculty serve as role models. Cognitive rationality, verbal and quantitative facility, intellectual curiosity, self-discipline, social grace and civility, these and other traits are aspects of a socialization process by which the relevance of institutional experiences for the individual is judged (Martin, 1969). Both certification and socialization are defined and evaluated by faculty and administrators–an intellectual academic elite. However, conformity of this sort is now breaking down. Research data show that, on many issues, younger faculty differ markedly from older faculty and in the direction of their near age-mates in graduate school (Trow & Hirschi, 1970).

Alumni, constituents, and the public constitute another alternative for evaluating the relevance of present educational systems, since they do not share faculty-administrative criteria or those of the youth perspective, but have norms of their own. The public or external constituencies of educational systems usually agree that the prime outcomes of a student's experiences ought to be job certification and personal socialization. External interest groups are likely to want educational institutions to maintain training programs leading to degree certification for *known* vocational/technical jobs or professional competencies (Jencks & Riesman, 1968). As for socialization, in the past it has been defined and monitored according to a sociopolitical orthodoxy, of which Republicans and Democrats were its political expressions and Protestants and Catholics its main religious manifestations. Today, however, that consensus mentality of the general society is breaking up even as, on campus, the sociopolitical liberalism that provided the theory behind faculty-administrative attitudes is under sustained attack and is slowly giving way.

In all of the alternative perspectives on relevance in educational systems, there are latent as well as manifest functions that figure in definitions and evaluations. Marriage, for example, has traditionally been one of the latent functions of the college experience. This has been part of the socialization process of

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education, at least for almost all parents and most youth. College is relevant if it leads to courtship.

Another latent function, favored by too many faculty, and acquiesced in by many students, is the business of making the student over in the professor's image. Insulation from society and dependency on an academic environment can be a result of this self-perpetuation, i.e., the graduate who is qualified only to return to his alma mater, or an equivalent place, to teach as he was taught (Hodgkinson, 1967).

The use of educational facilities as detention centers illustrates a third latent function. Students are being kept off the job market and detained from adult responsibilities and privileges through educational collusion to prolong adolescence. So, youth are made to feel socially irrelevant (Report of Special Committee, *Campus Tensions*, 1970).

EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS

There is as much variety in what is meant by educational systems as by relevance. The United States does not have a formal, unified system of higher education, but there are numerous ways to speak of educational systems.

Statewide systems of education have developed rapidly within the last 15 years through statewide planning and coordinating systems. The trend is for agencies to proceed from loosely organized advisory bodies, with no legal sanction, to multifaceted planning groups holding limited yet specific authority, and finally to single-body, statewide coordinating agencies with fiscal influence affecting academic affairs at the institutional level (Palola, 1970). Voluntary educational systems are thus replaced by legislatively authorized agencies concerned for detailed planning prescribed by centralized authority.

Then there are educational institutions in statewide systems, as in California and New York. The California system is composed of the nine campuses of the University of California, 19 state colleges, and nearly 100 junior or community colleges.

The institutional consortium is another expression of educational systems. The Great Lakes College Association and the Associated Colleges of the Midwest are two examples in undergraduate higher education. Consortia provide a voluntary way for institutions to join together in the name of efficiency and expanded services and become educational systems.

Social planners and macroeconomists look upon education in still another way—as one of the many components that make up the total socioeconomic map of the nation. Specialized manpower and educated skilled personnel constitute natural resources to be manipulated in organizing the nation's future.

In recent years the methodology called systems analysis, with its synergetic approach to planning for complex organizations, has also added a category to the catalogue of educational systems. It provides quantitative control over the allocation of resources for educational institutions. Prevailing administrative procedures for educational institutions are costly, extravagantly so, and are poorly monitored. Somehow resources assigned to education must be allocated in such a way that the efficiency of educational systems will be improved and can be held accountable. In a day of escalating costs and fiscal stringencies, the ideas of Planning and Management Systems (PMS), Management Information Systems (MIS), and Planning, Programming, Budgeting Systems (PPBS) have been taken up by educational administrators with great alacrity. To illustrate one manifestation of this development, PPBS is a system for:

> **Planning—the overall, long-range objectives of the organization and the systematic analysis of various courses of action in terms of relative costs and benefits.**
>
> **Programming—deciding on the specific courses of action to be followed in carrying out planning decisions.**

> Budgeting--translating planning and programming decisions into specific financial plans.
>
> Hence, the PPB System includes major planning functions and uses the budget process for the development of a short-range financial plan to implement the planning and programming decisions [Farmer, 1970, p.7].

Each of the preceding definitions of educational systems carries a variety of implications and complications. Regarding PPBS, to date, there are no satisfactory measures of educational outputs–for state or institutional planning. Within an educational institution, the student is the "product" of many academic departments, the recipient of different services, the "outcome" of a complex set of variables that cannot presently be measured. At the state level, where education competes with other social programs for funds within an interdependent socioeconomic order, the establishment of measurable criteria seems imperative, even inevitable. Relevance will be defined somehow, and educational systems are going to be held accountable, probably by planning and management systems.

Centralization versus autonomy is one issue raised by the systems approach, whether with reference to statewide planning, consortia, management information systems, or institutional governance. Are prospects for substantial change in education improved by dynamic centralism, where planning is guided by a tight coterie of leaders who assure the implementation of their ideas by controlling rewards and sanctions? Or, are prospects for change better in the context of system decentralization, where considerable autonomy for individual educational institutions is a means of protecting their right to be different? What assurance is there that the coterie at the center could have either the ideas or audacity to effect change? Or, conversely, that leaders in a decentralized setting would use their freedom to be different rather than to speed up the process of making their institution more like conventional standard-bearers?

The present trend is toward full utilization of the systems approach to create systemized education and to make its governance more centralized. But counterforces are also at work, promoting system decentralization and institutional autonomy. Fundamental philosophical issues are at stake even more than differing organizational arrangements, and it is to the notion of educational systems as collections of ideas that we now turn.

Traditionally, ideational systems have clustered around the banners of philosophical idealism or realism. Idealists, from Plato to Hegel, believed in universals, absolutes, and permanencies with regard to man and nature. They used these idealistic benchmarks for institutional as well as individual life. Realists, from Aristotle to Mill, made the case for men and ideas in and of this world, as opposed to that which transcends the immediate.

During the 20th century, ideational contenders in educational systems have more often been indebted to analytic philosophy or to phenomenological existentialism. Also employed have been reductionistic versus gestaltian approaches to understanding man and his world.

A recent development very troublesome to traditionalists has been the loss in the young of a sense of history or an interest in the concept of continuity. But it is a loss caused as much by the values of the corporate state as by contemporary youth. Both are anxious to be up-to-date, to avoid unfashionable ideas, to define relevance in terms of present activities. It is to the credit of the emerging youth perspective that teleological awareness is reviving as a feature of this movement and, with it, a sharpening of spiritual sensitivity, concern for historical continuity, ritual, symbolism, and shared experiences.

Although there is no articulated youth perspective on educational systems at any of the levels previously described, the general attitude of youth is one of suspicion toward systems. The feeling is that systems can be and have been controlled by elements in the society willing either to make America captive to the

Megamachine (Mumford, 1970), or to base the technological society on production and consumption as ends in themselves, with the consequences that human experience is reduced to life as technique, and the process continues its cycle of insatiable creation and destruction until, finally, it destroys its creator (Ellul, 1965; Schaar & Wolin, 1969a).

Science and technology have given modern man creature comforts, health services, geographical mobility, and material accessories in innumerable quantities. Taken separately, most of the outputs of science and technology are legitimate, but they do not come to man unconditionally (Mumford, 1970; Brzezinski, 1970). They are useful and can be validated only as long as they enhance human life and develop human sensibilities. If they desensitize and constrict, the machine becomes master and man its servant. It is because of the fear, with justification, that present educational systems are mechanical, impersonal, bureaucratic, and dehumanizing–as a result of submission to the machine mentality–that the youth have been critical of them and have, as a rule, opted for constraining their further growth and accelerating the search for alternative models.

THE PROCESS OF CHANGE AND ALTERNATIVES TO THE YOUTH PERSPECTIVE

Institutional change, historically, has occurred in four principal ways: through the creation of new institutions (Johns Hopkins University, Hampshire College); the transformation, under decisive leadership, of existing institutions (Brown University [Wayland], Harvard University [Eliot], Antioch College [Morgan], Parsons College [Roberts]); the setting up of innovative units adjacent to an established university (institutes, centers, bureaus) that are drawn into the arena of respectability after their work has been professionally validated;* the introduction of piecemeal changes within established departments or programs of conventional schools, colleges, or universities. This final method of change, which may or may not eventually have institutionwide impact, is the sort of accretional change that is still overwhelmingly favored (Rudolph, 1962; Hefferlin, 1969). However, as the pressure of the youth perspective builds, awareness of the need for an accelerated rate of change as well as radicalized forms of change impress even the most cautious of administrators. Transformational change now has its chance.

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*The cluster college concept is a variation on this approach in that, by its terms, the innovative unit is organized under the umbrella of a sponsoring institution and given, perhaps, considerable academic but little fiscal autonomy.

Research on present faculty and administrative attitudes toward educational innovation indicates a number of findings: Those faculty who view the student's educational experience as one of self-realization are more likely to favor innovation than those faculty who understand the purpose of the educational experience to be job training or professional preparation; younger faculty are more likely to be open to radical change than older faculty; faculty in the humanities and social sciences are more responsive to innovative proposals than are faculty in the physical sciences (Gaff & Wilson, 1970); faculty are generally ignorant of the options, as well as the educational and professional consequences, that can attend change–yet, because they fear the unknown, they usually cling to the familiar; although the majority of faculty are not responsive to educational experimentation, a sizeable minority profess a willingness to test innovations–the percentages of support varying with the extent of the proposed changes (Martin, 1969a; Wilson & Gaff, 1970). Most administrators show considerable interest in innovations at the level of curriculum, the traditional domain of the faculty, but less enthusiasm for changes in administrative organization, their own base of operation. As is true with other people, administrators are willing to see changes effected where they themselves will be least affected.

In these days of anxiety and suspicion, public attitudes toward innovation and experimentation in educational systems feature general opposition to change. Alterations in curriculum organization (majors, requirements for degrees, grading and testing practices) are likely to be opposed, as will any change in the

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institution's fundamental commitment to certification and socialization as defined by societal values. On the other hand, the public and constituencies of educational institutions are likely to favor changes that propose to make the institution more accountable to external control boards or review bodies. Also favored will be innovative ways to achieve efficiency or economy of operation.

Given these attitudinal differences toward present educational systems, ranging from an insistence on radical change in the youth perspective to the preferences among campus and community interest groups for most modest reform, what can be said about prospects for actually changing present educational systems? Four conflicting responses to this question are given:

1) The institution is incapable of reform because the experiences and paradigms of trustees, administrators, faculty, most students, and almost all campus interest groups, are inadequate for the present challenge. Furthermore, educational institutions have traditionally changed in response to external pressure and, while there is pressure for change coming from left-radicals, "Consciousness III" (Reich, 1970),* the youth perspective, and other forces, a pressure that is stronger and more likely to prevail is one favoring the conservation and continuity of established attitudes and practices. Pressure from the reactionary right is greater than that from the radical left. Furthermore, the character of the institution is fixed; set by experiences and habits. It would be the mark of immaturity, illusion, or delusion, to expect responses to the challenge of change which are greater than the agent is able to provide (Hacker, 1970).

2) In the present period of conservatism or even reaction, the best hope to effect marked improvement in educational systems is to work within the sociopolitical structure, perhaps to achieve

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*Melvin Bloom, Center for Research and Development in Higher Education, suggests the following variation on the Reichian triad: Consciousness I = Society; Consciousness II = Campus; Consciousness III = Youth.

a coalition of Democrats and left-radicals who, together, will reverse the direction in which the nation is going and, in the classical manner of effecting change–by mounting external pressure–can proceed to influence educational systems and radically alter their objectives and procedures (Harrington, 1970).

3) To work within established educational systems is, by definition, to accept the terms of these agencies and to be made over in their images. Nor is it in the interest of predominant systems to transform themselves. They have, indeed, taken on a life of their own that is not responsive to either democratic processes or conventional change mechanisms. Repudiation, separation, and the creation of a counter-culture–this is the activity that constitutes the only viable future for concerned youth (Roszak, 1969). Perhaps the new culture can be achieved nonviolently, but this is unlikely. While the power plug could be pulled on the Megamachine, so many people are conditioned to its satisfactions that they may be counted on to resist anyone who moves to stop it.

4) Changes in degree can become changes in kind. Society is being altered under provisions of the new technology and also because of widespread awareness of essential inadequacies in the corporate state and the American tradition, e.g., acquisitiveness and individualism. Furthermore, institutions of education are innovating in response to externally generated ideas and the emerging youth perspective. Changes that start hesitantly and end up incompletely are yet harbingers of things to come (Schaar & Wolin, 1970b). Changes that appear to be only quantitative can have qualitative effects.

Having presented several ways of viewing prospects for changing present educational systems, we will now review how the emerging youth perspective might employ aspects of contending views, both historical and contemporary, to move present educational systems from reform to transformation. Later, alternative models of educational institutions for the future will be introduced and the consequences of adhering to one or another of these designs will also be shown.

THE MOVEMENT FROM REFORM TO TRANSFORMATION

The youth perspective has contributed in several ways to the creation of new models of thought. The influence of youth, more than any other source, has focused the thinking of educational systems to key on the concept of relevance, as defined in this paper. The youth perspective shows great confidence in human capabilities, in man's capacity for good will and social cooperation. Compared to prevailing social theory, which emphasizes the primacy of organizational and bureaucratic roles in human development, the youth have revived humanistic confidence in man as capable of creating and controlling his organizations. Additionally, the youth perspective shows optimism about this nation's future–a future in which racism will not culminate in genocide but will be replaced by full parity for minorities; a future characterized by the expansion of peace incentives rather than the further expansion of a military-industrial complex, threatening nuclear or chemical annihilation; a future in which success will no longer be determined by material acquisitiveness but, rather, by the full development of human capabilities.

A high regard for the vital relationship between tool user and tool constitutes another emphasis. Tools are being rediscovered and there is a reawakening of fine craftsmanship and the pride associated with it. Work is disassociated from duress, is seen as its own reward, even as play.

Although there is a strong back-to-nature trend, the youth orientation is expanding to include technology which serves the requirements of living, rather than one which responds merely to the exigencies of politics and profit. Technological adventurism must be subordinated to moral responsibility. In some parts of the country, recycling is becoming a philosophy of life. In this movement there is less concern for the financial advantages of reuse than for minimizing the destructive aspects of consumption while maximizing opportunities for sharing.

Education based solely upon the "instinct of origination" (creativity) results in the worst kind of human solitariness. The youth perspective is responding to this precaution and accepting the challenge to base education on the "instinct of communion" (community) (Buber, 1966). Neighborhood associations, encounter groups and gestalt psychology, the emphasis in music and on film of people "getting it all together," are surface manifestations of a phenomenon of sharing that pervades much of today's youth culture. New forms of community, recognizing man's need for feelings of dependence and participation, are clearly part of the orientation of youth. Yet, the antecedents for these efforts are deep in the western tradition (Slater, 1970).

Organizationally, the youth perspective features movement from mechanistic forms toward flexible forms; from competitive structures and relations toward collaborative structures and relations; from hierarchical/authoritarian governance modes toward egalitarian/participatory models; and from absolute and dogmatic mandates for organizations toward provisional certitudes and temporary systems.

The "decision by dialogue" approach to community governance, an approach seemingly favored by youth, is vulnerable to the criticism that it implies an impossibility–leaderless leadership. To take this meaning from the word dialogue is, as Frye (1970) put it, "a literary convention taken to be a fact of life." Plato, contrary to literary convention, was aware that unstructured discussion usually ends in solipsistic monologues. "The etymology of the word symposium points to the fact that the presence of liquor is necessary to make the members of such a group believe in their own wit (Frye, 1970)." Nothing *happens* in Plato until someone, generally Socrates, assumes leadership in giving direction to the debate. This means, not that dialogue has turned into monologue or democracy into dictatorship, but that someone has discovered a dialectic and has committed himself to following it wherever it may lead. From there on, Socrates and his colleagues are united in a common vision of something which is supreme over both.

Youth have yet to feel at ease with the notion of leadership because they have had to break free, painfully, of its coercive, intimidating forms. They are now, however, showing responsiveness to authority based on competence and sensitivity rather than authoritarianism. As the emerging youth perspective is acquiring new adherents, many of them are willing to work within institutional structures, accept its new/old character, and are, therefore, more disposed to employ the resources of existing institutions, as well as to cooperate in establishing new and different ones.

Among conservative and liberal elements in society, on the other hand, it is no longer necessary to expose problems in education or justify the call for reform. On these subjects, there is general agreement; disagreement comes over the extent of the problems or the nature and extent of reforms to be effected. But at least the assumption of adequacy concerning established ways of doing things has been shattered.

There are, furthermore, commonalities between conventional and innovative commitments, as, for example, when Paul Goodman (1970) calls himself a "neolithic conservative." He accepts a form of conservatism articulated by Edmund Burke and proclaimed, a century later, by T. S. Eliot. It emphasizes the social contract: At birth a set of loyalties is given to man before he is capable of choosing them. Rejecting such commitments is a serious business–not to be taken lightly. Further, in the permanencies and continuity of social institutions, such as religion, government, and education, man has institutions that not only civilize him, but add a dimension of significance to his otherwise brief and tenuous life. Youth, quite rightly, have been probing uncritical elements in all inherited loyalties. They contend that the only real loyalty is the self-chosen and voluntary one. Yet even here conservatives and radicals share two essential traits–both are willing to be committed and engaged.

As the nation moves toward lifelong learning, with technology joining industry and education to extend opportunities for men to learn new ideas and update old skills, an opportunity emerges for Americans to be reeducated and to be enlisted in the achievement of improved models for educational systems. The interlocking nature of learning, that is, the connection between the cognitive and the affective domain, between mind and emotion, is a point where the conventional educational emphasis on the cognitive, and the attention of innovative programs to the affective, can merge into truly holistic or integrative teaching and learning configurations.

ALTERNATIVE MODELS: THE SHAPE OF THINGS TO COME

A Map of the Postsecondary Scene by Institutional Types

Assuming that present trends are continued, several institutional forms will emerge. There will be the sociotechnological institute, research and development centers, "think tanks," established into a national network of agencies involved in policy planning. There will be the major research university (public or private): primarily concerned with research and with graduate, professional, and postdoctoral education, and having a relatively small, highly selective, undergraduate student body. There will also be the regional state university and the state college: 30 percent of all undergraduates and 33 percent of all graduate students will be enrolled in these institutions by 1975. The regional state university, unlike the research university, will have little federal support. There will be a greater emphasis on applied research, especially with regional concerns, and instructional programs will emphasize public service and the professions unique to the area. The comprehensive state college will be instruction-oriented with a wide variety of curricula at the bachelor's and master's level. It will offer teacher education and emphasize the helping-service professions. This institution will be divided into two subunits: the upper-division college, which accepts qualified junior college graduates into their third undergraduate year, and the single-purpose, specialized public college, which will center on teacher preparation and the specialized professional fields, e.g., fine arts.

Other institutional forms will be the regional private university, a private counterpart of the regional public university, and the private liberal arts college, a residential campus, emphasizing interpersonal relationships and oriented toward teaching and values. Subunits of this form will be the private sectarian college, the men's or women's college, and the Negro colleges.

The community college and the private junior college (along with the regional state university and state college) will assume the major burden of inexpensive mass higher education. By 1976, these schools which provide vocational training, upgrading, retraining, and a community orientation will be characterized by open access, removal of financial barriers, statewide development plans, removal of logistical barriers (proximity), adaptation of occupational programs to social requirements, and full opportunities for continuing adult education. By 1980 they will comprise 35-40 percent of all undergraduate enrollment.

Finally, there will be several other postsecondary types of educational institutions–technical institutes, vocational schools, adult education centers, university extensions, "free universities," and centers for personal development. Correspondence ("home-study") schools will offer a variety of semi-skilled curricula, although they may diminish in importance as community colleges expand. And the corporation schools, with federal assistance, will provide general education in communications and mathematics, as well as vocational/technical curricula. In all of these areas, there will be specialized "packaged" educational programs taught to students on a contract basis (Axelrod, 1970).

A Radical Model for the University of the Future

This would be an institution open to all ages, but such an open stance would not mean a paucity of either quantitative or qualitative criteria for measuring the individual's or institution's success. The institutional objectives of this model would be to enhance the individual's potential to develop good judgment and to enhance society's capabilities for continual self-renewal. Rather than withdrawing from its context, the institution would become more adaptive, flexible, and responsive; characterized by the attitude of continuous search and continuous modification. At present, we have the commitment to the search without the attending modification. One goal will be to design or improve joint systems of society and technology.

A university serves society best as a critical conscience and as a creator of alternatives for society's continuous self-renewal. As such it must be a center of independent thinking, captured not by special interest groups but only by its principles. It will be understood that, in the future, not the university, but the home, church, and agencies of the nation-state will have primary responsibility for assuring cultural continuity. The university, then, will be the source of free authority in society, not as an institution isolated from reality, but as the place where the appeal to reason, experiment, evidence–intellectual, emotional, and imaginative–can continuously go on.

The first unit of the new university will be *systems centers or institutes,* which will be challenged to provide integrative planning in sociotechnological systems, i.e., to bring social and technical systems into the service of human goals. Featured will be holistic model building, emphasizing cross-disciplinary knowledge and competencies for model creation and field-testing. Also prominent will be the statement of systems alternatives, or varied processes whereby the goals of the institution or society may be approached. Implicit is the notion of process or change, and that men can, in the best sense, engineer it. Examples of systems laboratories are ecological systems and urban living, and educational systems planning. Work in these laboratories, while based on realities–manifest conditions and perceived needs–will not be contingent on immediate pay-off or present applicability.

The second unit of the new university will be functionally-oriented laboratories. At this level the more output-oriented work will go on, with emphasis on societal functions and the missions of technology. Persons with disciplinary skills will be employed in relation with others to achieve those cross- and multi-disciplinary team competencies likely to be most effective. Examples of functionally-oriented labs are urban transportation; educational technology; and gestalt therapy, reality therapy, encounter groups, etc., studied together for their potential service in developing human understanding and encouraging those human potencies required to make systems engineering humane—including evaluation by disciplined inquiry.

A third feature of the new university will be discipline-oriented departments. They will be the "custodians" of basic disciplines in the physical, life, and social sciences. It is less certain that there will be justification for the maintenance of subject-matter disciplines in the humanities and fine arts. The new humanities should break up and reorder the cells of specialization that are presently walled off from each other. New problem/theme configurations, which recast conventional disciplines without destroying their humanistic traditions, need to be created. Existing departmental specializations are dysfunctional, given the future commitment to think and act in holistic model terms.

Two consequences of this "radical" university model should be specifically noted: The traditional functions of teaching, research, and service will be combined or constantly interrelated. Hence, these distinctions will no longer be serviceable. Teacher-student distinctions may be expected to become blurred. Relationships will exist between persons with special competencies, or between those with greater or lesser skills in specific areas. Technical competencies will not be discredited, but the concept of counterbalancing or countervailing competencies, which operate in collaboration, will be featured.

A Work/Study Model of Institutional Education

Many analysts today are seeking ways to increase the efficiency with which education carries out its functions, especially its role in occupational training. One model that is offered as a way of increasing the effectiveness of the institution, and inducting youth into society, runs as follows and can serve as representative of this emphasis (Mood, 1970): 1) Every youth spends the year immediately following high school away from home at college. Society pays whatever proportion of the expenses of that year which is necessary to assure that everyone can attend. Beyond the first year, however, higher education is supported solely by tuition. 2) The freshman year has a curriculum directed mainly at assisting students in choosing their personal philosophies, goals, life styles, or careers. 3) Years beyond the first one are devoted to occupational-professional training, usually part-time, with the majority of the person's schedule devoted to employment. 4) Few persons would be full-time students after the freshman year. As they get older, education would take less time, but they would return throughout their productive years to increase or upgrade technical skills. Education and work would be intermixed throughout one's life.

From the youth perspective, this model may answer the institutional need for economy and efficiency within a technological society, but in so doing might obstruct the individual's propensity for leisure, communication, creativeness, and personal growth.

A Transitional Curriculum Model

The change to the radical models outlined previously cannot be achieved easily or immediately, given present professional values and organizational constraints. Hence, this transitional model to introduce the interval of change and open the way to the radical transformation of existing systems. Curriculum features of this model are congruent with the ultimate aims of future-oriented educational institutions–the enhancement of the individual's capacity for good judgment in the presence of substantive options, and the enhancement of society's capabilities for continual renewal or change.

Whereas the western tradition in education has emphasized the college as "a center of controversy within a tradition," now, with the loss of confidence in established traditions, the college for the future will become a place where the individual selects a tradition within a setting of controversy, i.e., amid alternatives. This curriculum, therefore, is based upon four emphases–exploration, concentration, integration, and contrast. Table 1 shows the alternative provisions of the transitional curriculum model.

The intent of this model is to open up options for the 15-30 percent of students interested in alternatives to the presently dominant conventional curriculum. Perhaps in this way the problem of the creative dropout can be dealt with (Heist, 1968). The vast majority of students, at least in the immediate future, will stay with the dominant arrangement. Only a minority are ready to innovate or experiment with alternatives. But as they do so, and succeed–personally and professionally–the majority may gain courage to try something different.

Because this transitional curriculum presents opportunities to test options that are problem-theme oriented, it should help achieve broader attitudinal acceptance of and institutional implementation for more radical institutional models (Carnegie Commission, 1971).

Other ways for existing colleges and universities to move toward the achievement of substantial change include the following: To subdivide, or decentralize their power, authority, and funds–storefront colleges, "disposable" programs, etc., are organizational expressions of flexibility and diversity; develop networks that extend experiences, resources, and facilities into the larger community; open educational facilities to the public and encourage direct encounters and interaction with the larger community; change degree requirements, distribution requirements, levels of proficiency demanded, and other conventional curricular stipulations; democratize governance; improve communication across interest groups; change financial patterns, reducing dependency on inhibiting sources of income; foster cooperatives and student

Table 1

ALTERNATIVE PROVISIONS OF TRANSITIONAL CURRICULUM MODEL

Years	*Conventional*	*Independent Study*	*Holistic Program*	*Field-Action Program*	*Institute(s)*	*Vocational/ technical Programs*
IV	Departmental specializations	(Worked out by the student and a student-faculty committee)	Examples: Historical epochs alternative Quest for community alternative	Urban International Work/ study Thematic: Health Ecology	Problem-theme research by faculty-student teams	
III						
II	General education					
I						

corporations; seek more diverse student bodies and faculties; evaluate institutions, not individuals; encourage dispersal of students throughout the nation and the world; and stop claiming institutional distinction for differences that are mainly semantic (Jerome, 1970).

The new Open University, Walton, Bletchley, Bucks, England, is an illustration at the postsecondary level of efforts to transcend conventional admissions criteria and the geographical confinement of conventional university programs. In secondary education, the Parkway Program of the School District of Philadelphia* is an example of the way the constricting concept of a campus as the focal point for teaching and learning can be broken and replaced by a greatly extended, diversified, and enriched educational context. The alternative schools network in Berkeley, California, is also a harbinger of things to come.

CONSEQUENCES OF BOTH EXISTING AND ALTERNATIVE MODELS

What can be said about the consequences if alternative models of educational systems are, or are not, adopted? From the youth perspective, and indeed from the viewpoint of principled pragmatism or even unprincipled expediency, it seems self-evident that unless institutions move in directions specified there will be no future for educational systems as presently designed. Educational media will offer courses, credits, and degrees in conventional subject-matter specializations, by TV and computer-assisted instruction (CAI), while institutes and centers formed under federal or industrial auspices will draw off the specialized professionals needed for programmatic research. Proprietary institutions already give specific forms of vocational/technical education to 10 million people and will spread their services to larger and larger constituencies with a cost factor that few complex, diversified, certified educational institutions can match. Industry and the military have already set the pattern for training programs and more general educational provisions.

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*For details write John Bremer, Director, The Parkway Program, 1801 Market Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19103.

The models here presented give established educational systems a future by assigning social tasks to the varied resources of these systems where, within mechanisms provided, they can be carried out. If educational systems do not reform themselves so as to "teach" in the functionally oriented, programmatic approaches described in these plans, professors could soon be displaced on TV monitors by professional actors who, with communication techniques that professors cannot match, would teach skills or present information according to a textbook organization of knowledge, thereby displacing conventional teachers and making them obsolete. Professors can justify themselves only by showing that they are capable of intellectual syntheses and other assignments that no actor can simulate. And, happily, this is a need of the future that professors could meet.

From the youth standpoint, the models presented are consistent with two states of being basic to their perspective, i.e., the natural as against the artificial, the fluid as against the static. Other features of youths' life style, to be sure, seem to contradict these commitments. The use of highly amplified sound systems and electronic instruments for musical effects and emotional expression tend to negate youths' commitment to "the natural." But the youth perspective does not deny the utility of technology. Rather, the natural is featured because, in addition to its intrinsic merits, the youth sense the need for a shift in emphasis: Technology must be brought to the service of man–sustaining man's body, mind, and spirit. Thus, there is the error of charging the youth perspective with being involved in the utilization of that which they oppose; it is understood that what is involved is this shift of emphasis–bringing technology to terms with man, rather than the reverse. The consequence of adhering to these models will not be the destruction of technology but destruction of the technological society–that society known best for allowing its means to become ends. And the corollary will be the redistribution of priorities leading to a better use of technology.

Acceptance of these alternative models will not mean the removal of leadership, the need for authority, respect for order, organization, and discipline. Rather, redesigned structures and functions will make provision for leadership, in a diversity of styles, to emerge; for authority to displace authoritarianism, based on technical competence and human sensitivity, rather than age, titles, organization charts, and staff docility; for order, organization, and discipline to be achieved within alternative forms that better reflect the pluralism of society as well as the diversity of needs represented in the life of individuals and society. There will be no repudiation of principles, philosophical or political, conceptual or organizational but, rather, a reordering of them.

Another consequence of acting on these educational systems alternatives would be that many features of existing operational models could be salvaged; the resources of present sociotechnological and educational systems, the energy, creativity, and adaptability of established personnel and operations could be employed to achieve different and better goals. Reference is frequently made to the ability of the Establishment to encapsulate reform efforts or co-opt them for the benefit of the system. The contention here will be that the reverse condition can be realized. The best of present social and technological systems will be captured and brought into the service of the youth orientation.

The same is true for present disruptive forces in and around American campuses, as embodied in radical (but not necessarily violent) youth. When changes of emphasis indicated by the youth perspective and structural innovations embodied in these institutional models have been implemented, present disruptive resources could join the cohesive forces providing leadership for educational systems of the new culture. (The period of time during which disruptions dominated thought and action probably was necessary to persuade established leadership that reforms were necessary; to motivate both young and old to think, not only critically about existing systems but creatively about alternative models.)

To deny the thesis of this essay, that is, to deny the emergence of a viable alternative–the youth perspective–an alternative emphasizing, for the individual, the relevance of the personal, spiritual, and affective dimensions of life as well as traditional cognitive skills and, for the institution, the relevance of character and pluralism, technology in the service of social goals, and structural energies put to the creation of sociotechnological systems better suited to human needs, to deny all this is to affirm the status quo, or to succumb to despair, or to show oneself to be a revolutionary. To opt for the status quo is to deny that fundamental deficiencies exist in present educational systems, or to accept only those reforms that seem likely to assure prevailing priorities–changes that still have as their goal the initiation of youth into the adult world as defined and controlled by established authority. To succumb to despair is to conclude that nothing can be done, although admitting that there are critical weaknesses in existing systems. "Our history shaped our character, and that history will run its course (Hacker, 1970)." To be a revolutionary means not only putting one's job and social status on the line–perhaps one's freedom, even one's life–but it also means that changes sufficient to correct present flaws can be achieved only by the complete overthrow of existing sociopolitical systems, including educational systems (Hook, 1969).

We reject these three options and assert the validity of the youth perspective–calling for a radical reallocation of priorities and resources and the utilization of a transitional model of curriculum organization leading to educational systems appropriate for a different future. We urge reform leading to transformation. We believe that these proposals are relevant to the needs or problems of present educational systems, to sociopolitical and individual developments for the future, and to the reassertion of the relevance of hope. Changed men are beginning to change institutions. New institutional systems will accelerate changes in men.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Several recommendations deal mainly with conceptual changes, with implications for organization. Others concentrate on structural/procedural changes, but relate to and affect theory. All are stated as imperatives.

Insist that educational systems have a future orientation. The old ways, not the new ways, must defend themselves. Ask how a system or institution justifies the absence of change, or why its orientation is to the past rather than toward the future.

Determine whether, for an educational system or institution, there is an awareness of options–philosophical, curricular, fiscal, or in governance configurations. Furthermore, strive to uncover the rationale employed for doing things as they are done.

Feature the criterion question. The issue of the relevance of present educational systems cannot be resolved without reference to criteria–the assumptions, values, and goals–by which relevance is judged. The most alarming reality in education is that we are dissatisfied with norms and practices from the past, ambiguous about existing purposes and unsure of where we are, yet devoid of cogent guidelines and viable plans for the future.

Devise qualitative criteria that will help to keep governance from becoming mere management and insist that success be measured in terms of the effect of educational systems on individual development within the concept of community. New forms of community, not old forms of individualism, are our need, but they will not be achieved by entrenched bureaucracies. Assert the significance of revived concern for community.

Recognize that, however difficult, changes required to make educational systems relevant for the future are essentially changes of attitude, perspective, emphasis, or consciousness. Organizational and administrative changes, however useful as means, cannot of themselves achieve the ends sought.

Assert the political importance of youth–especially the significance of those holding the youth perspective. Youth with shared values constitute a formidable political power bloc. They cannot be ignored, given their numbers and their sense of growing unity. Nor should efforts be made to dismiss them, given the relevance of their insights for educational issues. Youth sharing this perspective are still a minority. Yet it is consistent with the character of democracy to protect minority views and, if possible, to give them the opportunity to fulfill their aspirations. Today this significant minority of youth are calling for the creation of alternative models of educational systems by which patterns of future development can be determined. These youth should be heard and heeded–heard because it is their right, heeded because they are right.

Support the report of the Carnegie Commission (1971), *Less Time, More Options: Education Beyond the High School.* It calls for provisions that would encourage three-year undergraduate programs offering students more options: a) in lieu of formal college, b) to defer college attendance, c) to stop-out from college in order to get service and work experience, and d) to change direction while in college; to promote lifelong education; to simplify degree structures; and to reduce the emphasis on formal certification.

Urge the U. S. Office of Education to fund pilot programs which are unapologetically experimental, within and between institutions. "To create a super-industrial education . . . we shall first need to generate successive, alternate images of the future (Toffler, 1970)." There should be no hesitation in supporting short-term models of innovation or experimentation. These are programs that arise to meet a need, work effectively to achieve it, have impact on the people involved, and then go out of existence without leaving feelings of failure. The institutionalization of change is needed, but the institutionalization of a given innovation may be not the promise of eternal life, but the kiss of death.*

Promote field implementation, with appropriate evaluation, of selected institutional models presented in this paper. These models are forward-looking, break up existing barriers to change, offer substantive options, and are consistent with the American tradition of pluralism and process.

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*USOE has already made provision through various programs for such support and, in fact, has funded some creative ventures. A recent example is USOE support ($415,000.00) for The University Without Walls–whereby certain students from 17 colleges and universities will be allowed to work toward their degrees without adhering to the fixed requirements of any one of the campuses and having available to them resources from all participating campuses.

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HAROLD L. HODGKINSON

Student Participation in Governance

Student Participation in Governance

When the decade of the 1960s began, only a few colleges and universities had moved to include students in the decisionmaking machinery of the institution, and the idea of high school and junior high students participating in decisionmaking was unheard of. By the end of the decade, student participation on campuswide decisionmaking bodies had become the normal procedure, according to McGrath (1970), and some high schools had begun to reorganize to include meaningful student participation in the governing of their schools. This paper represents an attempt to pull together the issues and practices surrounding this change and makes some recommendations for the future.

STUDENT PARTICIPATION–PROS AND CONS

The major arguments *against* student participation run as follows: students are too young, too self-interested, too naive about politics and institutions; students are present for too short a time to be effective; the student body is generally too diverse to be well represented; colleges and universities are not egalitarian, and participation must be limited to the best and most knowledgeable people. Faculty just plain know more than students; if students get involved with governance, they will spend too much time on it, and their education will suffer; and because of numbers, students could come to dominate rather than participate. Also, students tend to elect the most radical and militant members to office.

Arguments in favor of student participation include: if education is to have something to do with learning, then the student is the only one who really knows when education has taken place; teachers can find out some things about student learning by testing, but students often learn things the teacher didn't intend and therefore cannot test; from several studies (Keeton, 1971), it appears that students are more concerned about the quality of teaching than either administrators or faculty; except for trustee membership and decisions on teacher tenure, student participation has become accepted in most colleges and universities; as members of the campus community, students are entitled to citizenship, and an essential part of citizenship is the franchise; with the average length of presidential service now hovering around five years (Hodgkinson, 1970), and with faculty leave and sabbaticals, students may have more years of continuous service than either faculty or administrators; and according to OECD (1970), the movement to increase student participation is worldwide.

Generally speaking, the trend toward student participation is clear. The arguments in its favor are generally persuasive, although in many specific circumstances other factors may sway the balance. Once the trend has made its appearance in a few places, then other students can use the classic argument: "If they can do it at X school, why not here?" It may be that the younger age of high school students, along with the possibility of more conservatism on school boards than on college trustee boards, will mean that the trend will take longer than a decade to become the norm for secondary schools. On the other hand, the patterns of violence among college students took only a year or so to transfer to the secondary schools (the year 1970-71 saw more violence in urban secondary schools than on college campuses, at least through December), and, if the trend continues, some readjustment of the governing machinery to include some student participation may come about more quickly. For example, a study by the Syracuse University Research Corporation of 700 urban high schools indicated that 85 percent of them had some disruptions last year–22 percent had teachers strikes, 33 percent student strikes, 21 percent arson, 56 percent property damage, 11 percent riots, and 29 percent student attacks on teachers *(Newsweek,* 1970). Others argue that more violence now will simply increase the "keep them in their place" attitude and make student participation unlikely. Time will tell.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF STUDENT PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNANCE

The history of student participation is usually described in the standard sources as beginning with Bologna (McGrath, 1970; Shenkel, 1970). (But what role did students play in Plato's academy?) In American higher education, students have been seen primarily as consumers of higher education, not interested in questions of governance. The pre-Civil War college was, in sociological terms, a "total institution," much like a jail or mental institution in that the control of the student's conduct was almost total. These colleges were often placed in rural settings, not particularly for reflection and contemplation, but for better control over student behavior. Control patterns were much like those of the small rural town in which everyone knows everyone else. The Land Grant institutions, particularly those in urban settings, began an era of loosened control over student behavior, by default. Institutional size brought anonymity and transience, which had both good and bad consequences. The commuter student became a very different responsibility, particularly if he could get on a subway and disappear.

The beginning of student choice of courses in the late 19th century allowed a much greater student influence by permitting them to vote. However, this role was the passive role of the consumer, not the participant. In addition, students in eastern colleges particularly formed a pressure role from outside the formal governance system, forcing the development of fraternities because of the institution's poor running of dormitories, the literary clubs and guilds due to uninspired teaching and very poor library services (many of the clubs had far better book collections than did the campus library), and intervarsity athletics because the college was interested only in cognitive matters. The president of Williams wrote to the president of Amherst, asking if there was anything that could be done about these developments; the reply was no.

Student governments began in earnest at about the time of the heyday of the student personnel movement (1920-1930), and the dean of students often served as coordinator and watchdog of the student government activities. With few exceptions, students shied away from the major business of governance and seemed happy to select homecoming queens, school songs, mottos, and the senior class play. Even more interesting, students had for the most part continued to accept this arrangement without question. In the 1960s, however, things changed. Honor systems became popular, suggesting that students take academic obligations seriously (this was, on many campuses, a revolutionary notion, having its consequences in free universities and experimental colleges). Student course evaluations and pass-fail grading systems also became popular in the '60s, increasing the potential of student participation.

At the moment, things are changing very rapidly, as most campuses now have students on major campus committees (except the trustees and tenure committee) and places like Otterbein (Ohio) and Waterloo (Canada) now have equal representation of students and faculty on governing boards. (Indeed, there *may* at this moment be more students sitting with trustees than there are faculty at any given institution.) Through devices like the constitutional convention, many institutions are giving top priority to a major revision of their system of campus governance; but they almost never include any plan to evaluate the new system to see whether it is really an improvement.

The high school scene is also beginning to shift—in attitude if not yet in practice. Student alliances are being formed at the secondary school level, although they do not at the moment seem to resemble either the student version of the labor union or SDS.

The secondary school version of student organization may be a new hybrid, as different from NSA as it is from SDS. Adults often look down on high school students because of their ignorance of political *facts* (you have to know the name of the president of South Vietnam to understand the war, etc.), but the awareness of political *processes* among secondary and junior high students is often amazingly high. Indeed, watching some of these students in action in a political situation is a revelation.

A fair number of secondary schools have already begun the process of increasing the range of student participation in governance (Glatthorn, 1970; Kaye, 1970; American Civil Liberties Union, 1968 and 1970). The patterns of participation are diverse at the individual school level, owing to the diversity of power relationships between principals and faculty in the secondary school. At this writing, there is scant evidence that students are being given active participation on local school committees, where policy for the school district is decided. It is also clear that the U. S. Office of Education, which often advocates student participation to states and communities, has a poor batting average in terms of its own operation. The State Board of Education of California, under Dr. Max Rafferty's direction, appointed one white female high school student from a parochial school to sit with the Board (without vote), thereby "representing" the interests of over five million school children in the state, but it is doubtful that such actions will accomplish much.

Secondary schools such as Metro High School in Chicago, John Adams in Portland, Pennsylvania Advancement School in Philadelphia, Pacific High School in Los Gatos, Enfield High School in Windsor, Connecticut, and the Parkway Program in Philadelphia may represent some of the ways in which the decisionmaking patterns of the public schools may be altered in order to increase the contribution from students.

THE PROBLEM OF ACCOUNTABILITY

There seems to be a movement today in American education which has some resemblance to the state of American medicine immediately after the publication of the famous Flexner report (1910). Citizens are now aware of the amount they are paying for educational services and are demanding that the educators justify their request for financial support in very concrete ways. This means that certain individuals and groups are being held accountable for the implementation of the objectives the money is given to attain. Kingman Brewster (1970), among others, has argued that students cannot be held accountable for the state of the campus–that power or obligation is usually delegated from the board of control to the president, as contained in the charter of the institution. (A few institutions, including Antioch, have modified their charters to give responsibility and accountability for daily affairs of the campus to a group representing students, faculty, and administrators, known as the administrative council. Charter modification *is* a possibility, but this not only takes a great deal of time and energy to accomplish, but in some states might not be worth doing.)

The problem of accountability is especially perplexing in collegial institutions like colleges and universities, in which the president is seen not as the faculty's boss but rather as a colleague, first among equals (at least, so goes the mythology of academe). In this sense, then, the "chain of command" kind of accountability practised in military and manufacturing bureaucracies is probably inappropriate in education where things do not always go from the top down. (Indeed, the most vital decisions–curriculum and tenure–are generated in the department and move up.) On many campuses, decisions are decentralized to the level of the department and the faculty and/or campus senate–the president or dean simply implements their decisions. Then, how can we hold an administrator responsible or accountable for implementing a decision which he did not make? This problem results in part from our insistence on looking at governance as the process of making decisions without regard for the reciprocal process of implementing them. Accountability must encompass the total process from policy formation to implementation.

Another difficulty with the problem of accountability is the relative vagueness of most administrative roles in education, e.g., outside of eating and breathing, what professional activities do *all* people with the title of dean perform? In speaking of accountability, we are speaking of a system of assessment or evaluation, which will tell us which people and groups are doing their jobs, and how well. This process of evaluating the performance of educators is rather primitive at the moment, although most campuses are using such devices as student evaluation forms, in-class observations by colleagues, and publication in order to decide which members of the faculty are good enough to receive tenure (a kind of accounting process). But how do we assess the quality of administrators? Or, for that matter, students sitting as decisionmakers on a campus senate? Should trustees be exempt from the process? If not, what is to be done with a trustee who is found wanting? How do we assess the performance of a group rather than an individual, and whom we do hold accountable if a group is not performing well? The concept of accountability will be meaningless until we have some agreement on each campus as to how it should be assessed, and who should participate in the assessment.

IN LOCO PARENTIS

The debate on *in loco parentis* is far from over; indeed, it may just be beginning (Milton, 1970). In the middle of the '60s, liberal thought dictated that the very idea of an institution assuming a pseudo-parental function was absurd. Faculty and students generally agree with this doctrine, but the public clearly does not. As of the moment, the courts have not been helpful in establishing general policy. It is probably true that some faculty derision at the *in loco parentis* doctrine was due to their great enthusiasm for abdicating any responsibility they may have had for the student as a person. With *in loco parentis* dead, faculty would be free to pursue their own interests, contending that their responsibility for the student was limited to his brain–aspirations, passions, etc., would be serviced by someone else. (As one dean told me, "Any student who came into my office saying that he was seeking the good life would immediately be sent to the psychiatric clinic.")

This situation is now being reversed, at least in some of the rhetoric. Many are saying that the institution does have a responsiblity for student suicides and drug deaths, both of which have increased drastically in recent years, although accurate figures are hard to obtain. And just at this writing, two distinguished academics, Parsons and Platt (1970, pp.1-37), have contended that the institution (and particularly the faculty) does have a role to play in lieu of parents; at the least the faculty has a socialization function to perform with students, that there is an analogy between the family and the university, and that both faculties and parents have the right to privacy. (But their analogy between the sex act in the family and "scholarship" in academe must remain one of the most questionable and misleading analogies around.) A few years ago, the academic arguing a politically conservative response would get no support from his colleagues, but probably not today. If the academic pendulum is indeed swinging back toward dead center, the next step may well be the faculty's re-acceptance of the *in loco parentis* doctrine. This will mean renewed attention to the role of the faculty in student advising and counseling, an area which needs instant and serious attention.

MODELS OF STUDENT PARTICIPATION

Before discussing alternate models of student participation, a word might be said about the motives of those who advocate it. In the secret hearts of many, it is hoped that admitting student membership to a few campus committees will have the effect of making violent student protests and demonstrations go away. There is no evidence that one will cause the other. Others grit their teeth and respond to student pressure by allowing membership on committees but feel that it is capitulation. There are better reasons for having participation than that, and one is that students have a right to participate, perhaps even an obligation to. Another is that the system of governance will be improved. And a third is that students can learn a great deal from participation—it is an important part of their education and should not be denied them.

Also, speaking generally, all governance models can be considered along the line of adversary (zero-sum game) or collaborative (nonzero-sum games). Von Neumann began the game theory distinction—a zero-sum game, like poker, means that what one person wins must be the sum of the others' losses (Hodgkinson, 1967). Thus, if the faculty "wins" more power, it means that the administration and students "lose" that much power. The nonzero sum game assumes that the pot is fixed, that players can gain most by helping all persons to "win" simultaneously (Keeton, 1971).

It might appear from the discussion thus far that there are many universals in governance; however, a central thesis of this paper is that there is no one model of campus governance that is clearly superior for all settings. Different institutions attract different kinds of people. Imagine what would happen if the faculties and student bodies of Antioch and those of a fairly typical military school or college changed places for a week. The Antioch students and faculty would find the rules of the military college intolerable, and the military students would find the Antioch scene chaotic and unproductive for them. Small institutions are different from large ones, private from public, community colleges from universities. No pattern of governance could fit them all; however, it is possible that, when each is working well, they have similar characteristics, just as a good boat, a good plane, and a good car will have some things in common although their structures are different.

The Representative Assembly Bicameral or Unicameral Model (see Appendix A)

The bicameral model usually consists of (in theory) a faculty and student senate, with a negotiating group to work out differences in recommendations, much like the joint senate-house committees in Washington. It is a separation of powers format—the faculty render unto the faculty the things that are faculty's, and the students do the same. Each house has a certain amount of autonomy, but if their only concern is to make recommendations to the administration, then the problem mentioned earlier of the block between decisionmaking and implementation is critical.

The campus council or campus senate is a unicameral body representing faculty and students on equal terms, often with administrative representation also. These central councils often start out as advisory, for communication purposes, and end up making many decisions. There are now at least 300 such central campus councils or senates. These councils violate the separation of powers doctrine but have a better chance of making a linkage between decisionmaking and implementation, as all phases of the processes are visible, and those responsible for each segment are accountable. This model seems more efficient in many ways than the parallel structure committee patterns of the strict separationist institutions–a student committee on student discipline, a faculty committee on student discipline, an administration committee on student discipline, etc. In general, the comparisons with the federal government are not very helpful in campus governance–there is only one *real* supreme court. The unicameral council also has the advantage of making the best use of talent–students may serve very well in leadership roles on some questions, faculty on others, administration on others, thus leadership can be more situational and less monolithic.

One interesting idea which has widespread applicability is the open hearing (see Appendix B). Under this arrangement, every group must submit proposals to an open hearing before they are presented to the decisionmaking body. This means that, even if the campus council is small, everyone who wishes to speak on an issue has a chance to do so. This makes the campus council (or any other form) more responsive to a variety of points of view. Some institutions are even saying that the open hearing is the only forum allowed–the council, after the hearing, makes a recommendation to the faculty, the administration, or student government, but no debate is allowed on their recommendation, only a vote of yes, no, or return to committee. This makes for short faculty meetings in institutions of any size!

The Communitarian Model

This model is partially based on a "town meeting" of either all the members of the community (often including faculty wives, secretarial, clerical, and maintenance personnel), or their representatives. In some cases this body actually makes decisions on matters of policy, in others it is simply an open hearing to allow everyone to air his views, after which a smaller group decides policy. Both approaches have been used in the experimental colleges since the 1930s. Generally, such massive groups as the community meeting function well only in adversity–if a decision has to be made which does not affect individuals directly (a change in investment policies from a lower blue chip stock percentage to a higher investment in real estate trust funds), the community turnout will be small indeed. Participation is modified severely by self-interest, often leaving in limbo the major questions which do not impinge directly on individual lives. Also, it is not clear that a place can be governed entirely by instant referenda. It is hard to tell who belongs in the community, and why (if janitors are in, why not their wives, if faculty wives are in?). These questions often take as much time as the substantive discussions. One appealing, yet threatening, model is defining the community for a given campus as "the community of those who teach, and those who learn." This model seems most appropriate for small residential colleges, with a student body of around 1000 to 3000, which will produce a "community" of 1700 to 4000.

Urban Community Model

This model is being talked about for urban institutions, in a style similar to Ocean Hill-Brownsville, assumimg participation of the members of the city community who live in the immediate surround. In this model, the essential criterion is geographical–those who live in a certain area are affected by the campus and should have a say in what happens. This would mean that high school, as well as college, students would be involved in governance. At the moment, no institution is fully involved in this manner, but Columbia, Chicago State, and Federal City College (Washington, D. C.) are exploring community participation of all ages in the governing of the institution. It seems that the university must stop *being* a social problem before it can solve social problems. Community colleges usually have strong community representation on their governing boards, probably leading higher education in this respect, but seldom have youth been represented on these boards. Many urban school systems are moving in this direction (Lauter, 1968, pp.235-262).

The Ad Hoc, or Kleenex Model

Students often seem to like this style of participation: When a problem arises, everyone who is interested enough to work on its solution assembles, leadership and tasks are chosen, the problem tackled and either resolved or not, at which point the group disbands. What could be more appropriate for American society than a disposable system of governance? The concept assumes that most standing committees, even those with no functions, create enough work to justify their continuance, and that groups must be *forced* to disband after completion. It remains to be seen whether or not such task forces can exist without centralized authority monitoring their every move. (The evidence from Columbia Community College is optimistic.) On the other hand, there probably must be some central administration to handle necessary continuing functions since these task forces are created only during a crisis.

Such a model is really not a model for student participation as such; indeed, students could be shut out of important issues, especially by faculty, if the faculty simply decided that no meeting needed to be called, no task force established. But it would seem to be a style of participation that many students would like. It seems to work more effectively in smaller institutions, both public and private. It could be used to attack many problems in the public schools.

Student Syndicalist Model

This model has as its major proposition that student unions can provide a power base for students which is not contingent on the whims of either faculty or administration. In its most extreme form, it could entail a national legislative act, establishing a student union with compulsory membership for all students. (Studenthood would become a closed shop.) All of the typical tactics of labor-management relations, from strikes to lockouts would be available, along with compulsory arbitration, cooling off periods, etc. This would give students a national power base from which to influence policies on each campus, with or without formal committee participation. A modification of this form would be like the French student syndicalist movement, with thousands of small local unions, unable to organize effectively at the national level, but effective on certain local issues.

The central problem with models of this type concern the protection of the rights of student minorities–those who don't want to join, those who want to go to class when a strike has been called, etc. At the moment, the law is not clear as to whether a student can sue a college or university if it fails to offer the instruction the student has paid for–some cases say yes, others no (Brubacher, 1971).

This model seems particularly suited for large, public universities enrolling rather sophisticated students. The pressure tactics would be less effective on a campus of 900 students in which everybody knew everybody. A certain amount of political sophistication (at least a superficial knowledge of Marx) would be necessary, as well as a widespread knowledge of mass societies and how they work. It is a radical model, based on power tactics, and assumes a lack of trust across factions.

RECOMMENDATIONS

First, it should be made clear again that no one of the models sketched in this paper offers a solution to our problems of governance on *all* campuses and schools. Structures of governance are simply means through which the objectives of the institution (assuming that the institution has objectives) can be attained. But, as so often happens, means have a tendency to become ends. If we have a stake in the present organizational chart, we will strive to protect it even though we may see that another form of organization might better attain the objectives. Because we become so involved with the structures, we tend to forget the functions they were meant to serve. Structures are no better and no worse than the people who make them go. No structure generates trust–only people can do that. There is precious little knowledge in the behavioral sciences on the processes whereby interpersonal trust can be increased, although it is probably one of our biggest problems as a society. If there is a single reason for this pervasive distrust, it is probably that *the size of decisionmaking units is too large to meet the needs of individuals.* We can at least do something about that, in both secondary schools and colleges.

Many decisions in both schools and colleges are now made with "template" policies in which the individual must adapt to the template, for no particularly good reason. Two good examples of this are the typical general education requirements for the undergraduate major–six credits of this, eight of that (general education by the registrar's office); and the system of "Carnegie Unit" courses which the high school student is supposed to take in order to get into college, even though it was shown years ago that the Carnegie Unit system did not predict success in college and should be done away with. In both instances, students are forced to accept a template which determines their course of study, with little account paid to their own interests or aspirations. There is little evidence that either template works.

There is little doubt that one of the most crucial governance decisions for any educational institution is the decision of what each student will learn. It is proposed, at the school and college levels, that this central decision be decentralized to the level of the individual student and an advisor in the faculty. Together, they will write a learning contract for the work the student will do, and the institutional resources that will be invested. Both sign the contract, and it thus becomes the student's program. Based on the specific steps in the contract, evaluation can become a process whereby the student learns something about his or her own progress and begins to make improved self-evaluations of his performance. The development of skills of self-appraisal should be an important objective of schools and colleges, both for faculty and students.

This contract model is a vital form of student participation in the governance of their own education. If, through policies of differentiated staffing, those faculty are selected for contract writing who genuinely enjoy advising (some faculty would teach more and do less advising, others would teach less and do more advising), and if advising were seen as a central faculty role and not as an extra burden, it might be that this kind of decentralization of curriculum decisionmaking could help to build in a sense of trust and perhaps even a trace of institutional loyalty and esprit.

It is recommended that high school and college students be represented on state boards of education and state coordinating commissions for higher education, particularly in the U. S. Office of Education, from the bureau level up to the Commissioner. This recommendation is particularly urgent in light of the recent Supreme Court decision that 18-year-olds may vote in national elections. Young people have become a genuine political force and have the right to representation in the centralized state and federal offices that increasingly make a larger share of decisions that matter. In that such representatives might influence over ten million voters under age 21, they probably would be worth listening to.

Now that 18-year-olds have the vote, it is important that schools and colleges give them some training in how politics works. It is proposed that each school and college establish a course which will study that school or college as a "social lab" to discover political principles in operation. Any student who fully understands the processes of allocating money, establishing and changing the curriculum, hiring and firing faculty and administrators, the maintenance of discipline, food service, and buildings will have had a good introduction to the fine art of practical political persuasion. The student would also come to see that politics is not just something practiced in Washington, D. C., but that it works in every area of human activity, from faculty meetings to board committees. Such a course, well taught (by someone other than the football coach at the secondary school level) might do more to sensitize the young of secondary school and college age to the excitement of politics than anything else. It also would give them an excellent working knowledge about the institution in which they will spend a few years, and perhaps a greater appreciation of its problems and prospects.

Many of the major problems confronting secondary schools in the '70s will be those of the colleges during the '60s–student protests and violence and the rapidly increasing drug use in high schools, particularly junior highs. These problems cannot be dealt with honestly or effectively without meaningful student participation. It would seem that secondary schools should be able to learn something from the difficulties that have beset colleges and universities during the last decade. The problems are particularly severe because of the tendency of public school systems to be more rigidly controlled by a central hierarchy–teachers are often thought of as employees, administrators as bosses. Unlike the colleges, the top administration in the public school will have to increase the leadership and involvement of both students and faculty at the same time. In order for this to happen, superintendents will have to give more control over operations to building principals, who in turn will have to get more student and faculty involvement. Generally conservative school boards may not agree with this idea, and it will not happen overnight. But the problems of drugs and violence are so enormous in most big city schools that some sense of urgency must be created toward student participation. Many responsible students are ready and willing to help solve these problems.

The area of decisionmaking that gets the booby prize is that of promoting the faculty member to tenure. On many campuses the decision is based on rumor, gossip, malice, trade-offs, how one holds a teacup at a presidential reception, and other irrelevant criteria. If good teaching is really a criterion for tenure, then teaching quality should be assessed by a variety of methods, including evaluations by students, colleagues who have observed the faculty member teaching, the faculty member's self-evaluation, and some administrative assessment. This combination should include both clinical and statistical approaches, as both have their function and neither is sufficient by itself. Giving tenure to a 35-year-old teacher is a $750,000 decision, not to mention the responsibility for the development of some 7500 minds, yet it is often made in the most casual way possible. By giving tenure and full professorships to 40-year-olds, the institution has shot its entire reward system–the professor has 25 years to go with no rewards to work for. The matter deserves our best intellectual efforts, as it is clearly one of the most vital decisions we make.

Budget information about the institution should be made available to those who participate in institutional decisionmaking, including student representatives. To ask them to participate without access to financial information is clearly unreasonable. In some cases, both students and faculty serving on campus committees are systematically denied any financial information, giving the administration and board fiscal veto power by saying to any proposal, "We can't afford it."

There is no reason why student participation should be limited to those with a certain grade average. On some campuses, students in remedial programs (usually minority students) are not allowed to participate in the activity of governing, thus furthering their feeling that they are less than students. If there are advantages to being a student in terms of participation, then all students should have the right to participate.

If faculty are able to drop a course in lieu of their service on a major campus committee, then students in high school or college should also either get course credit for their work in governance, or have their graduation requirements cut by one course. In the early days of student participation, students were allowed to sit in on some meetings without either voice or vote, and the faculty usually were quite negative when, after a few meetings, the students stopped showing up. But of course, few if any faculty would stay in the same circumstance. The activities of governing are very hard work and consume much time. The student is contributing both his own education and time to the welfare of the institution, and he should receive some compensation–released time is probably the most appropriate compensation.

In our thinking and writing about campus governance, too much attention has been given to decisionmaking. In governance, we need to give much more thought about the relationship between decisionmaking and implementation. Accountability should include both decisionmaking and implementation, spelling out who is responsible for deciding and who for doing, and the criteria to be used for evaluating.

Every new system of governance should have contained within it some evaluative criteria so that the effectiveness of the changed system can be assessed. Such assessments are very difficult–one can never be sure that the time is right, or that the best criteria are being used. But the gains in making the attempt clearly outweigh the losses. At least, institutions will make changes in their governance with some expectations of what will happen, and these expectations may begin to move closer to the educational goals of the campus or school.

Many institutions are finding very useful the practice of retaining a good senior for a year after graduation as a special assistant to the president or dean, as an administrative intern, etc. These programs also give the student an excellent overview of the larger perspective on governance with which the administrator must often deal. Having a student staying on as a salaried staff member can be another demonstration of administrative trust and confidence in students, and it can provide a kind of information input that on some campuses is urgently needed. Doing this with a junior has some even more interesting consequences, as he or she would return to full studenthood having had this experience. Indeed, a junior year in the administration might expose the student to more new and strange ways of thinking than would a junior year abroad.

One crucial problem of governance involves the development of a new breed of people who can see things from a variety of perspectives—both macro and micro, quality and quantity, teaching and research, reciprocity and autonomy, reason and emotion, etc. Thus we must come to see the student, *simultaneously*, as FTE, as food consumer, as occupier of 1.0 seats in 4.5 classrooms, as eater of 2.3 meals per day, as 2.69 GPA, as worker, consumer, commuter, seeker, thinker, and human being. Few of us are now able to do this, and therefore planning activities tend to be dominated by the perceptions of brick and mortar, as square footage is easier to figure than personal growth.

CONCLUSION

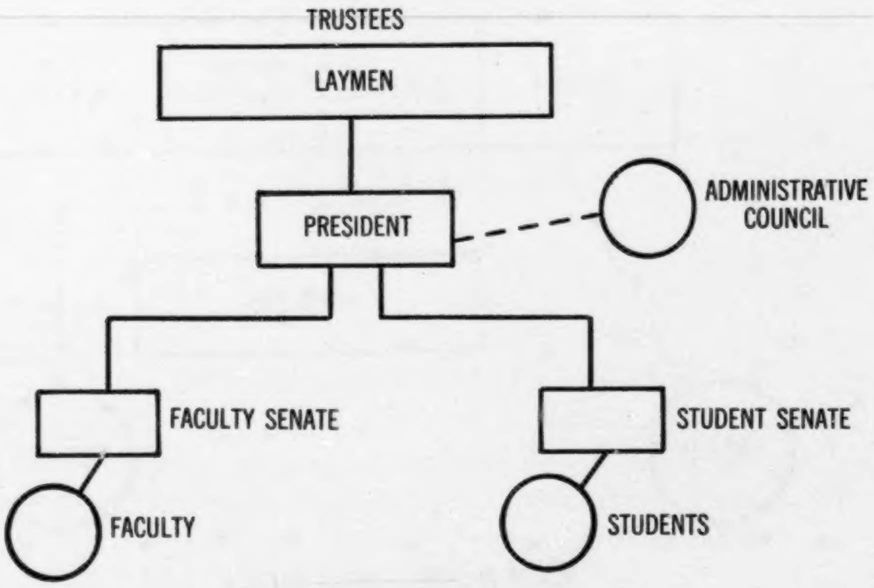
It is now widely known that the American public schools for the most part engage in endeavors in which the student plays a passive role. Yet the major educational *theorists* of our time are advocating an active role for students in the learning process. Most colleges now have put some of this theory into practice, through seminars and tutorials, independent study, 4-1-4 calendars, work experience and junior year abroad programs, etc. As we have allowed the college student to become more active and autonomous *intellectually*, he naturally has become more active and autonomous *politically*. As secondary school curricula and educational theory move in the same direction (as they seem to be doing), there is every reason to believe that high school students will develop the same desire to control their own affairs by leaping into the political arena, both at school and elsewhere. This movement will obviously not occur everywhere at the same time; certain institutions will take the lead, probably with much public criticism, and others will come in when the coast is relatively clear. (For example, the experimental college group–Antioch, Bard, Sarah Lawrence, etc.–were roundly criticized during the '30s as being radical to the point of being subversive, while today the concepts of student autonomy and active learning they pioneered have become the party line for almost everyone.)

How far down the line this trend will go is anyone's guess. The idea of first-graders sitting as voting members of school boards is a bit absurd, but there is no particular reason why high school seniors could not participate. Where the line will be drawn will depend on other emerging trends. One good barometer in this area is the patterns of child training in America, which is still at the permissive pole for most sectors of society. When adults begin to train their children more strictly, one could expect that, a few years later, adults will begin a drive to restore youth to their subordinate status, in schoolrooms and in the home. At the moment, there is no reason to assume that such a trend will develop in the near future, and several reasons to assume that it will not.

Most likely, the governance of all institutions of American life will become less hierarchical, more participatory from broad segments of the population, more interested in power and less in authority, more factionalist and less consensual. In education particularly, the sharp line between internal and external agencies will become more and more blurred. *Authority* will be in the hands of more centralized boards and statewide agencies, yet more *power* will go to the people. Here is perhaps the central contradiction and the main task in education for the '70s: Who speaks for the people on educational matters?

APPENDIX A

TRADITIONAL SEPARATION-OF-POWERS MODELS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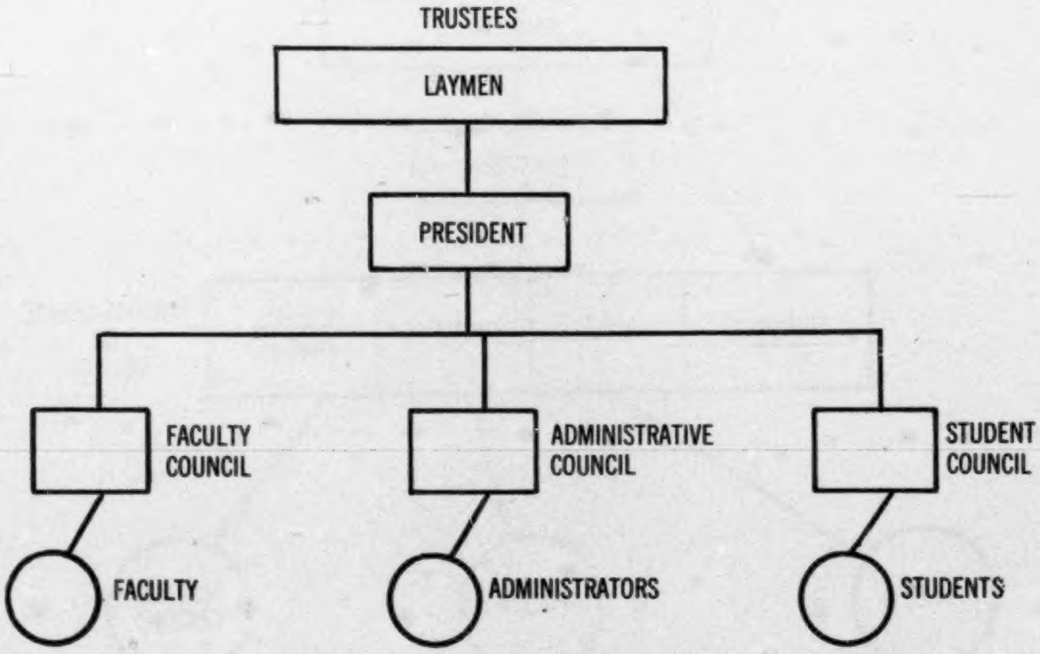
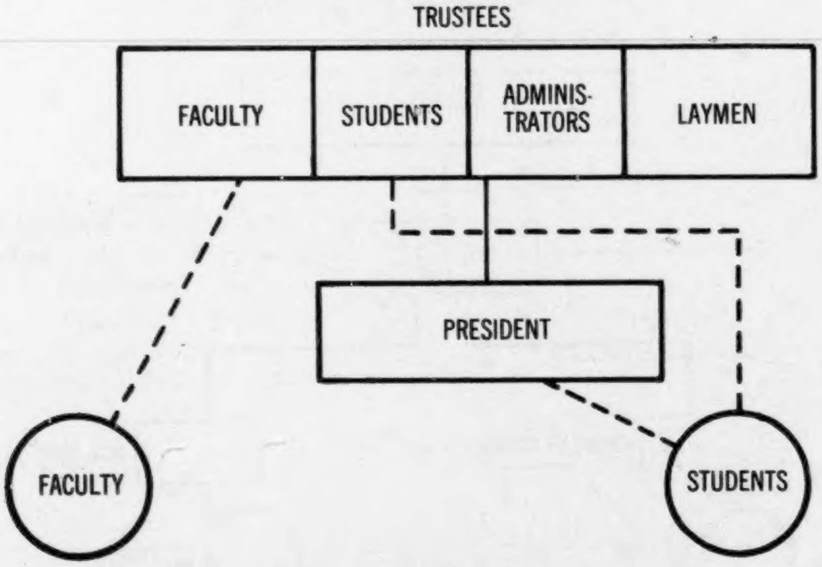
LAYMEN
PRESIDENT
ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL
FACULTY SENATE
STUDENT SENATE
FACULTY
STUDENTS

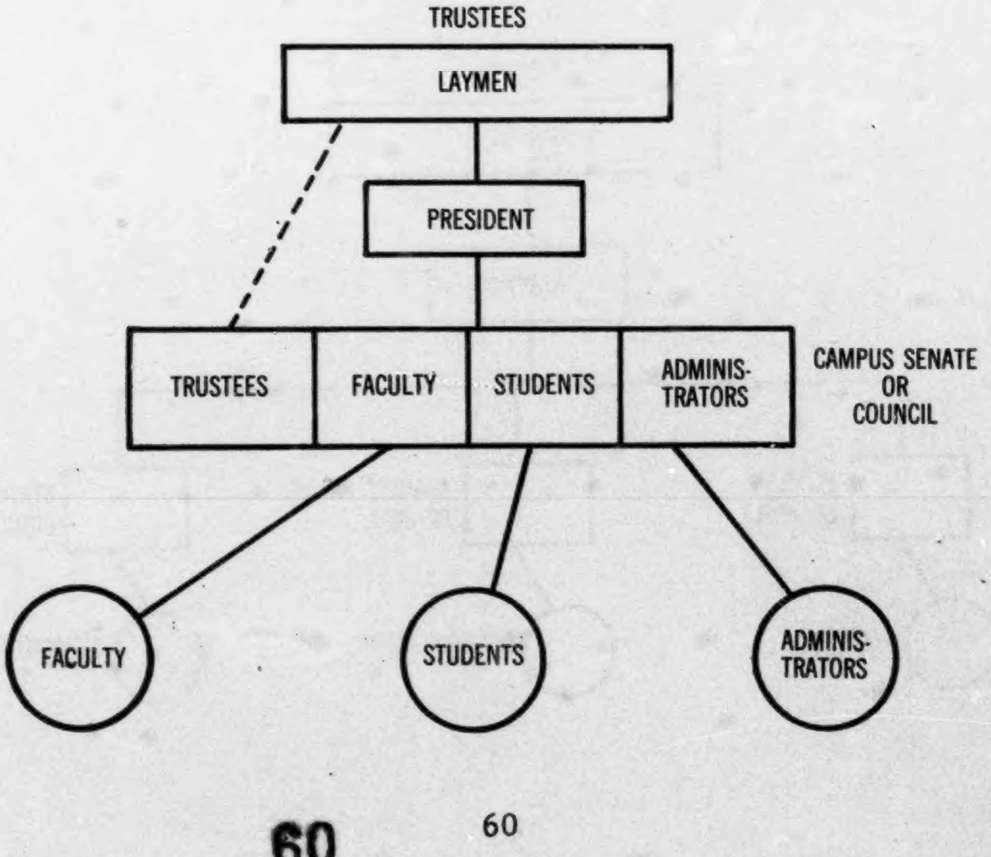

TRUSTEES
LAYMEN
PRESIDENT
FACULTY COUNCIL
ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL
STUDENT COUNCIL
FACULTY
ADMINISTRATORS
STUDENTS

APPENDIX A

MODEL OF UNICAMERAL TRUSTEE BOARD

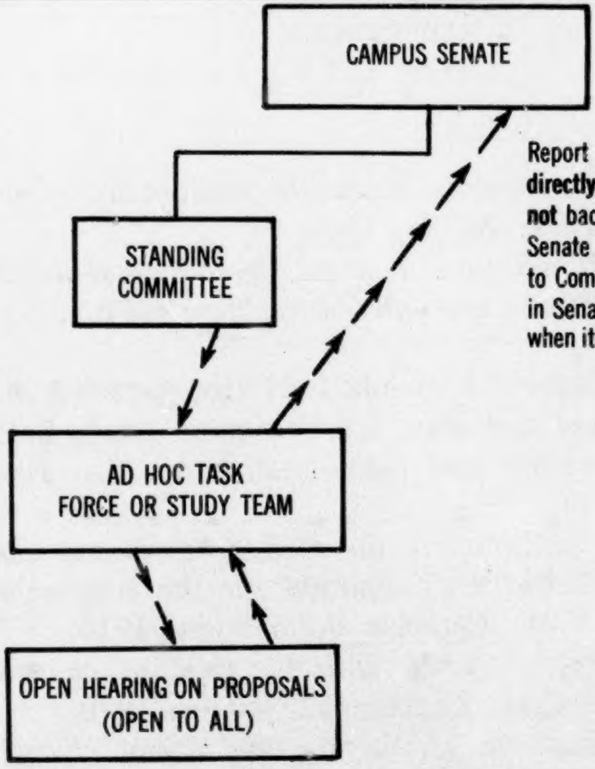

TRUSTEES
FACULTY
STUDENTS
ADMINIS-TRATORS
LAYMEN
PRESIDENT
FACULTY
STUDENTS

MODEL OF A UNICAMERAL COUNCIL


TRUSTEES
LAYMEN
PRESIDENT
TRUSTEES
FACULTY
STUDENTS
ADMINIS-TRATORS
CAMPUS SENATE OR COUNCIL
FACULTY
STUDENTS
ADMINIS-TRATORS

APPENDIX B

MODEL FOR REDUCING DECISIONMAKING STEPS


CAMPUS SENATE
STANDING COMMITTEE
AD HOC TASK FORCE OR STUDY TEAM
OPEN HEARING ON PROPOSALS (OPEN TO ALL)

Report of Ad Hoc Group goes **directly** to Senate for decisions, **not** back to Standing Committee. Senate votes yes, no, or return to Committee. No debate is allowed in Senate. Ad Hoc Group is dissolved when its report reaches Senate

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K. PATRICIA CROSS

Access & Accommodation in Higher Education

Access & Accommodation in Higher Education

There is widespread agreement that a national goal in the decade ahead will be the achievement of equality of educational opportunity for all citizens. The phrase, "equality of educational opportunity," has been used with such glib frequency that it is easy to underestimate the enormity of the task ahead. In fact, there are two major tasks–the assurance of equality of *access* to all levels of education and the *accommodation* of education to fit the diverse needs of the populace. These two aspects of educational opportunity are inseparable. Access is a hollow victory if education is not meaningful, and the development of appropriate quality education is unjustified if some citizens are barred access. Problems of access are usually discussed in terms of postsecondary education, whereas the process of accommodation has powerful implications for equality of opportunity at all levels.

CHANGING PHILOSOPHIES OF ACCESS

In the history of this country there have been three major philosophies about who should go to college. When higher education was young and not many people went to college, the aristocratic philosophy prevailed: The probability of college attendance was predictable from birth. Because he belonged to the hereditary aristocracy, a white male from the upper socioeconomic class was very likely to attend college, regardless of his ability or interest in higher education. In aristocratic terms, the young people who should go to college were those who could afford it and who needed it to carry out their station in life. The poor, ethnic minorities and women, it was assumed, would not follow life patterns that made use of a college education. The symbols of the aristocratic philosophy are private high-tuition colleges and the acknowledgment of "legacies" as appropriate admissions criteria.

Today aristocratic qualifications for college admission are definitely on the wane, widely refuted by national policy as well as public sentiment. The demise of the aristocratic era is clearly evident in the data from the decade of the 1960s. College attendance rates showed the following *rates* of increase from 1959 to 1966: lowest income quarter 100 percent; second income quarter 30 percent; third income quarter 25 percent; and highest income quarter 9 percent (Froomkin, 1970). Although the poor are catching up to the rich, it is still true in 1970 that young people from the upper socioeconomic levels are more likely to go to college than those of equal ability from lower socioeconomic levels.

The revolt against aristocratic philosophies of college admissions was led by those who maintained that a college education was an earned right, not a birthright. Advocates of the meritocracy felt that criteria for college admission should be based upon ability and the willingness to study hard. In practice, meritocratic principles were applied by using rather narrow criteria of grades and test scores to define merit and to select the "most promising" young people to attend college. Philosophically, the meritocracy was at its peak in the 1950s. The Commission on Human Resources and Advanced Training published the well-known study, *America's Resources of Specialized Talent*, in 1954. The pervading philosophy of that time is typified by their assertion:

> **Some men have greater ability than others and can accomplish things which are beyond the powers of men of lesser endowment. . . . The nation needs to make effective use of its intellectual resources. To do so means to use well its brightest people whether they come from farm**

> or city, from the slum section or the country club area, regardless of color or religious or economic differences but *not regardless of ability* (Wolfle, 1954, p.6, emphases added).

Since the practices of the nation usually lag behind the acceptance of principles, effective meritocracy did not reach its peak until the present time. Recent data (Cross, 1971) show that most high school seniors in the top ability quartiles are now going to college, regardless of family socioeconomic status, race, or sex. For the dominant culture of white males, the meritocratic philosophy is in full flower. Even boys who rank in the lowest socioeconomic quarter of high school graduates are very likely to continue their education if they are academically above average (three out of four enter some form of postsecondary education). Girls, however, are not as likely to have "earned" the right to a college education by making high grades; they must also come from families in the upper socioeconomic levels. Aristocratic criteria linger for women, discriminating against women of lower socioeconomic status in the meritocratic race for college access.

With meritocratic emphases upon quantitative indices of academic ability, such as school grades and academic aptitude test scores, there has been little recognition of the fact that the test scores and grades of a 17-year-old youth are determined in part by his early childhood environment. Since our educational system is fundamentally unidimensional, valuing academic skills above all others, meritocratic practices have not served those who did not get a good start in the system, or those whose talents lay outside the narrow academic curriculum.

The third and most recent philosophy of college access is egalitarianism, a social philosophy advocating the removal of inequalities among men. Applied to college entrance it means that everyone should have equality of access to educational opportunities, regardless of socioeconomic background, race, sex, *or ability*. Open admissions is the symbol of the philosophy. To most egalitarians, equality of educational opportunity does not mean identical forms of education for everyone. Uniformity of educational offerings for young people with diverse talents and interests would most likely result in inequality of opportunity.

Both aristocratic and meritocratic practices of college admission have passed their peak of influence in determining who shall go to college. Most young people of high socioeconomic level are in college; most young people with good grades or high academic aptitude test scores are in college. The group new to higher education in the decade of the 1970s will be those of low socioeconomic status and those with low measured ability. The movement is already underway; the majority of students entering open-door community colleges come from the lower half of the high school classes, academically and socioeconomically.

THE 1960s AND THE 1970s: ACCESS AND ACCOMMODATION

The decade of the 1960s was devoted largely to removing barriers to admission to college, and thus it was oriented toward gaining access for groups that had never before considered attending college. Emphasis upon access assumes that the task is to change students to fit the system; emphasis upon accommodation implies that the system can be changed to fit the students. Both access and accommodation are designed to narrow the gap between educational opportunities and students; access predominated in the '60s and accommodation must receive the major attention of the '70s.

New students to higher education are characterized by their lack of success in traditional, subject-oriented education. Traditional education was designed in a different era to serve an elite segment of the population, and in many ways traditional education has served traditional students well. But times have changed dramatically, and there is no evidence to suggest that the old model of education with its emphasis upon classrooms, lectures, subject-matter units of credit, and competitive grading practices promotes equal learning opportunities for all individuals or serves the needs of a modern society better than other models which might be devised. The present system is built around an academic core—a core of subject matter that may be essential background for further academic work but not necessarily for other kinds of activities. Thus, at every level of education, institutions are oriented to serve the needs of those who are continuing in the system. Research indicates that collegebound students are better satisfied with their secondary school preparation than those who go to work; transfer students are better satisfied than "terminal" students with their experiences in two-year colleges. Students not planning to continue their education feel that teachers and counselors would prefer to work with those who are preparing for the next level. From first grade to graduate school, the educational system operates as a giant sorter or funnel, selecting the most academically able at each transition point and channeling them into the next educational level, while dropping the others from the system.

LIMITATIONS OF EXISTING EDUCATIONAL MODELS

There is a search now for a euphemism for "marginal" students." But a pleasing euphemism will only obscure the fact that there are many students on the margins or fringes of our present academic core education. In our present model (Figure 1), the task is to decrease marginality by changing students—usually by correcting "deficiencies" while ignoring strengths that may lie outside the boundaries of our traditional concept of education.

The Access Model

Figure 1 is fundamentally an access model in which education remains static, and students are moved into the traditional system. The task in access models of education is to move students as far as possible toward the core of academic education. With extensive change, indicated by the length of the line in Figure 1, student A can become a good traditional student. Student B has less capacity for achievement in the area of expertise defined by the circle: he may spend frustrating years trying to meet our

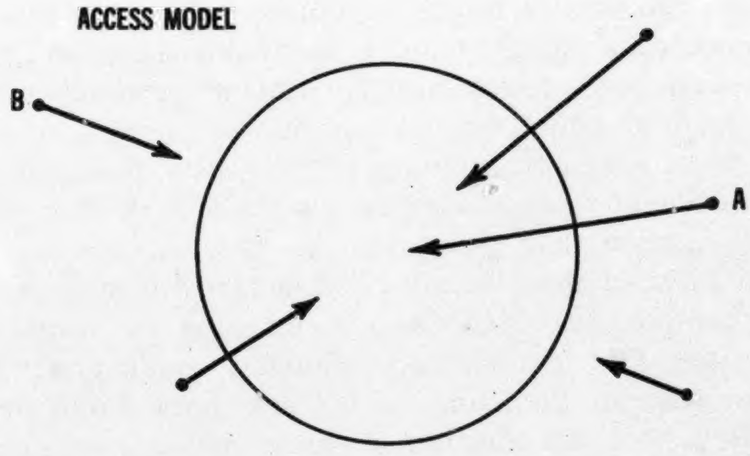

FIGURE 1. Moving marginal students toward the core of traditional education.

definition of a "good student" without ever becoming more than a marginal student. Our present concern with access assumes that equality of educational opportunity will be achieved when new students have equal access to educational programs that were designed for a different kind of student. Financial aid enables low-income students to attend traditional colleges. Open admissions practices at traditional colleges offer those with low grades and low test scores the opportunity to pursue traditional curricula. Special programs such as Upward Bound focus attention on making new students over into the image of traditional students. Remedial courses remove academic "deficiencies," counseling removes motivational "deficiencies," and financial aid removes economic "deficiencies."

The educational approaches used in special programs for the disadvantaged may be said to start with the needs of students, and, in that sense, they might be considered accommodation models. The goal, nevertheless, is to change the student so that he is acceptable to traditional education, and, in accepting that goal, all such programs are access-oriented.

The fundamental problem with access models is that they leave unchallenged the notion that there is a single ultimate goal for excellence in students and in institutions. As long as the unidimensional model remains supreme, there will always be marginal students and there will always be a "lower half" who are below average in their performance of the tasks of education. At the institutional level, the singular model of excellence in education has been the university. "Second-rate" colleges frequently believe that to be "first-rate" they need research grants, a faculty of PhDs, highly discipline-oriented curricula, and all of the other symbols of "quality" education.

The Funnel Model

A second limitation of present educational models is that they are designed for orderly progression through a funnel or sorting system. It is assumed, especially in the present meritocratic era, that students will go as far as they can in school, at which time they will have *completed* their education. The funnel model of traditional education is illustrated in Figure 2. The task is to funnel the academically superior to the top.

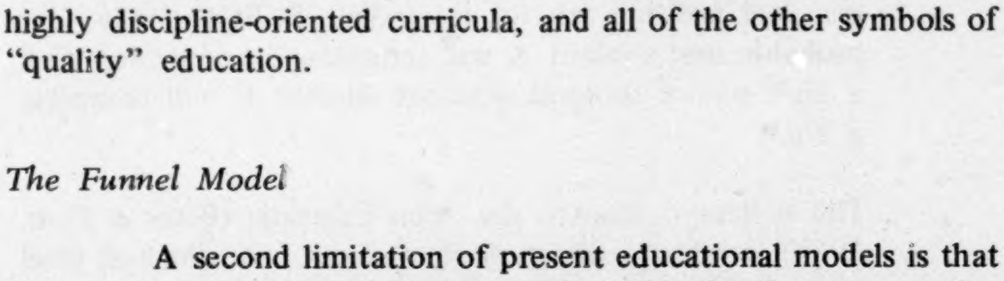

FIGURE 2. Funnel model of traditional education.

There are certain conditions which characterize the funnel model illustrated in Figure 2:

Students must complete one unit before moving to the next;

Students who are marginal at one level will probably be considered terminal students at the next level. In Figure 2, for example, student A began elementary school in a marginal position relative to student B. Statistically, it is probable that student A will terminate his education with a high school diploma whereas student B will complete a PhD;

The system is akin to the Peter Principle (Peter & Hull, 1969) in which each student advances to his highest level of incompetence. When either he or an educational institution concludes that he cannot profit from moving further in the system, he drops out. But his future income and his status in society and in the labor market are very closely related to how far he went in school;

The normal age levels for the completion of each unit are indicated in Figure 2. Even the student remaining in the system for the longest period of time is expected to finish his education before reaching the age of thirty. In other words, present educational models are designed for young people prior to their entry into the labor market;

The selection process is increasingly severe as students advance in the system. For every 100 students entering the fifth grade, approximately 72 graduate from high school, 40 enter college, 20 graduate from college, 5 obtain master's degrees, and roughly one in a hundred citizens who were fifth graders in 1960 may expect to receive the doctor's degree.

THE EDUCATIONAL PERIPHERY

The most rapidly growing segment of American education is the "Educational Periphery," a term used by Moses (1970) to describe systematic educational activities which go on outside the educational core of elementary, secondary, and higher education. Included in the periphery are: 1) Programs sponsored by employers–business, government, and industry–to upgrade the capability of employees. Such courses may run from a few days to lengthy programs involving highly advanced concepts in the employees' field. 2) Proprietary schools, usually run for profit and including beauty schools, computer training, refrigeration schools, etc. 3) Antipoverty programs such as the Job Corps and Manpower Training and Development Centers. 4) Correspondence courses. 5) Educational television, which is beginning to perform educational functions for all ages–from Sesame Street to Sunrise Semester. 6) Adult education programs ranging from academically oriented evening courses to neighborhood, church, and social action groups concerned with affective learning.

In 1970, the numbers of people pursuing structured educational activities in the educational core stood at about 64 million, whereas the number in the periphery was estimated at 60 million. By 1976, the number in the core will be approximately 67 million, compared to 82 million in the rapidly growing periphery (Moses, 1970, pp.6-8). Education in America has moved out of the confines of the regular school system. With little or no attention from the educational establishment, millions of citizens are creating their own lifelong learning models of education. But a goal of equality of educational opportunity would be enhanced by the creation of new educational models which are flexible and fluid enough to permit easy movement between the core and the periphery.

Accommodation Models

Accommodation models of education assume that the gap between student abilities and educational offerings will be narrowed by moving education toward learning needs. This can be accomplished in two ways as illustrated in Figure 3.

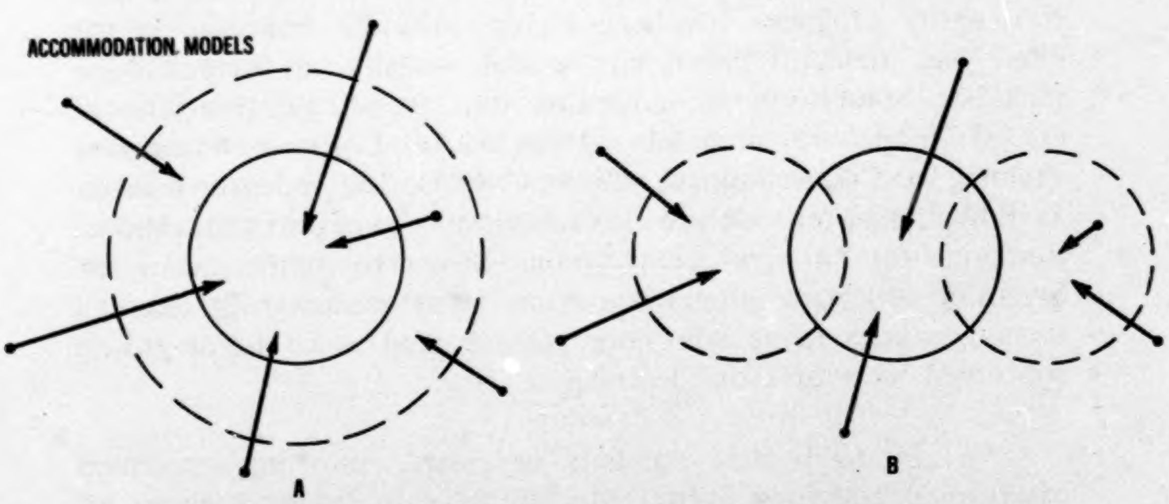

FIGURE 3. Alternative models for moving educational offerings toward student learning needs.

Historically, the nation has used model A to adapt education to the steady trend toward serving larger segments of the populace. The great reform movement of the American high schools added vocational subjects such as home economics, shop, agriculture, business, etc., which grew into a large fringe area of courses available to those who were not continuing their education. The courses, the instructors, and the students in vocational education have been considered marginal to the academic enterprise, and the wall between the academic core and the vocational fringe has proved formidable. Movement between academic and vocational courses of study is very difficult. Thus, while the expansion of the curriculum does move education toward the accommodation of more students, they remain marginal to the chief enterprise of education. The expansion model shown by model A permits individual variation in levels of achievement. Those students operating near the core of traditional education are considered high achievers, whereas those in the fringe area are generally regarded as low achievers.

Model B seeks to identify human abilities that are central to individuals and to the needs of society. It seeks to provide a model in which everyone has the potential for high achievement. There are several "cores of excellence," and students who may be marginal students in working with the abstract ideas of academe may be excellent in working with human sensitivities in the area of interpersonal relations. To be sure, some of the skills of traditional education are needed in any educational endeavor, and there are areas of overlap among the various abilities. Students will need to be helped in identifying and moving toward some core of excellence, but the options are much greater and the realistic opportunities for achieving excellence are available to a greater variety of people.

Developing Lifelong Learning Models

The task of education is assumed to be the preparation of young people for their vocational and personal futures. But the world is changing so rapidly that it is almost impossible to prepare for the future merely by learning about the present. Learning should be lifelong, and easy exit and re-entry into a flexible and fluid educational system must be assumed in developing new educational models. Figure 4 presents a lifelong learning model, making use of multiple cores of excellence and easy movement in and out of a great variety of educational opportunities.

There are several characteristics of the model illustrated in Figure 4. Learning opportunities remain constant throughout life, but peripheral learning structures play a small role in early childhood learning and an increasingly greater role in developing specialized adult proficiencies. The constancy of lifelong learning space is illustrated by the total rectangle; school structures by internal figures, and peripheral structures by unenclosed space in

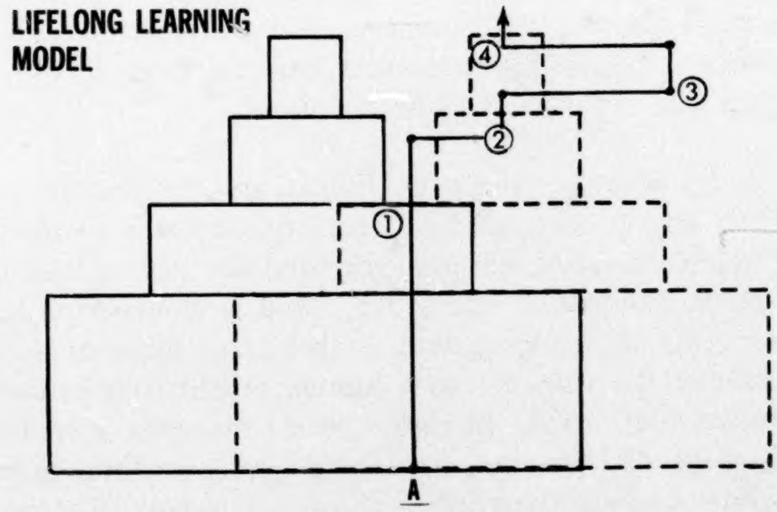

FIGURE 4. A model for lifelong learning with multiple cores of excellence.

the learning rectangle.

Learners become increasingly proficient at developing their special talents. Proficiency is indicated by narrowing the focus of the learning rectangles; special abilities are indicated by several cores of excellence.

There is easy exit and re-entry into the formal school curricula, and things learned outside of school are easily applied in school and vice versa. To cite an example, individual A began with talents that could be developed in either mold illustrated in Figure 4. Upon reaching working age at point 1, A found that a course offered by his employer created considerable interest in a given area. He decided to return to school to add to his background in this field of study. Notice that his working experience added to his development, and he re-entered school at a new level, 2, not at the level of exit, 1. Additional schooling added to his expertise, and he re-entered the labor market, 3, at a higher level than his previous job. A three-month summer workshop and several extension courses offered by the university added to the development of his talents and he re-entered formal schooling, 4, at a still higher level, etc. Other people may have followed totally different pathways to the fullest possible development of their talents.

In summary, the development of lifelong learning models with multiple cores of excellence would offer students many more options than are presently available. Some students could continue in the traditional pattern of developing academic excellence, but others may wish to develop other talents. Some students may move directly and rapidly through the academic system; others may wish to defer college attendance, "stop-out" from college, or change directions in the core or through periphery educational experiences. Despite our heavy emphasis on concentrated academic learning, some young people are expressing a greater willingness to "follow their own instincts and interests rather than bow to the strong bias of many teachers, parents, and guidance counselors in favor of (traditional) college education (*New York Times*, November 22, 1970)." It takes courage and independence to defy the system that defines success as moving straight through school programs to the attainment of academic degrees. There is a desperate need to break out of the lockstep unidimensional mold and to help people of all ages to grow in interests and capabilities.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLICIES AND PROGRAMS TO INSTITUTE NEW EDUCATIONAL MODELS

If education is to devise learning models that will maximize individual potential and aid in matching human abilities to the work required by society, then two major research thrusts are required: We must be able to identify and measure diverse human talents, and we must be able to describe the skills and abilities that are needed to improve the world. Neither is a simple task. There are, however, some promising research findings that make obsolete the old requirements, "Must have a college degree" or "English 101 required."

In the realm of human talent, for example, researchers have been able to identify several distinct dimensions of memory ability. Individuals excelling in one type of memory do not necessarily excel in other types. Likewise, the ability to understand and follow complex directions is not necessarily related to measures of verbal aptitude. One of the problems in studying the variability of human talent has been that the emphasis of the schools on the development of certain abilities, such as verbal aptitude, for example, has permitted other potential abilities to atrophy or lie dormant, thus hiding their existence from researchers, educators, and employers. It is recommended that research into the breadth and diversity of human talents be encouraged and given strong financial support.

Closely related to the identification of talent is the cultivation of talents. There is research evidence for the existence of different learning styles. Once again we need more options, and it is recommended that research on how people learn continue to probe the use of new media, the effectiveness of work-study programs, and the role of affective learning.

Employers have used educational institutions as certification agencies to attest to a young person's diligence and academic aptitude. This practice has diverted educational goals into certification functions. It is recommended that research be directed toward behavioral descriptions of the abilities necessary to perform the work of society and that tests be developed that will aid in matching human talent to work requirements.

Research is a necessary but not a sufficient condition to develop new educational options. New knowledge must be put to work. It is recommended that government jobs themselves be used to serve as experimental models by defining job requirements in terms of behaviors instead of credentials. Government and industry have already moved into the area of peripheral education, and further experimentation with periphery-core interactions are to be commended.

PROJECTIONS OF THE EFFECTS UPON YOUTH AND SOCIETY IF NEW MODELS ARE NOT DEVELOPED

The outline provided by the Education Task Force of the White House Conference on Children and Youth calls for some discussion of what will happen if new models of education are not developed. Perhaps the question is best answered by a Chinese proverb that says, "If we don't change our direction, we are likely to end up where we are headed."

If our educational models remain unidimensional and designed for young people prior to their entrance to the labor market, then equality of educational opportunity will be only an empty phrase. There will always be a lower half who will fail to reach high levels of achievement in academic areas. Individuals will be frustrated by their weaknesses, while their strengths atrophy because of the expectation that all young people must meet common educational requirements. Since people will need to continue learning throughout their lives in order to live in a rapidly changing world, those who are "turned off" by early school learning experiences may react with fear and rigidity to future learning demands made upon them.

If we fail to provide models for lifelong learning, then the young will be better educated to the modern world than the old who completed their education in a different era. The generation gap may be expected to increase, and both young and old will grow increasingly frustrated and alienated. Older people who lose touch with modern developments will face the prospects of unemployment, lack of self-respect, and a premature and useless old age. Young people will grow frustrated with the rigidities of a society that lacks new perspectives to change itself. They may react with alienation and violence, or with withdrawal and escape. For individuals and for society in the future, adaptation and flexibility are almost certain to be essential qualities, and continuous learning and lifelong access to it appear to be vital necessities.

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